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THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

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TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, Bart.

VOL. III.

SCOTLAND.

ROBERT CADELL, EDINBURGH;

WHITTAKER AND CO, LONDON.

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TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

Second Series.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Invasion of Argyle's Country by Montrose—Battles of Inverlochy, Aulderne, Alford, and Kilsyth gained by Montrose, who, by the victory at Kilsyth, becomes Master of Scotland—He is appointed Captain-General—and Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland—marches upon the Borders—is defeated by Lesley at Philiphaugh—retires to the Highlands, and leaves Scotland.

[1644—1645.]

It was about the middle of December that Argyle was residing at his castle of Inverary, in the most perfect confidence that the enemy could not approach him; for he used to say, he would not for a hundred thousand crowns that any one knew the passes from the eastward into the country of the Campbells. While the powerful Marquis was enjoying the fancied security of his feudal dominions, he was astounded with the intelligence that Montrose, with an army of Highlanders, wading through drifts of snow, scaling precipices, and traversing the mountain-paths, known to none

save the solitary shepherd or huntsman, had forced an entry into Argyleshire, which he was laying waste with all the vindictive severity of deadly feud. There was neither time nor presence of mind for defence. The able-bodied men were slaughtered, the cattle driven off, the houses burnt; and the invaders had divided themselves into three bands, to make the devastation more complete. Alarmed by this fierce and unexpected invasion, Argyle embarked on board a fishing-boat, and left his friends and followers to their fate. Montrose continued the work of revenge for nearly a month,[1] and then concluding he had destroyed the influence which Argyle, by the extent of his power, and the supposed strength of his country, had possessed over the minds of the Highlanders, he withdrew towards Inverness, with the purpose of organizing a general gathering of the clans. But he had scarce made this movement, when he learned that his rival, Argyle, had returned into the Western Highlands with some Lowland forces; that he had called around him his numerous clan, burning to revenge the wrongs which they had sustained, and was lying with a strong force near the old castle of Inverlochy, situated at the western extremity of the chain of lakes through which the Caledonian Canal is now conducted.

The news at once altered Montrose's plans.

He returned upon Argyle by a succession of the most difficult mountain-passes covered with snow;

[1] ["From about the 13th of December, 1644, till near the end of January."—WISHART.]

and the vanguard of the Campbells saw themselves suddenly engaged with that of their implacable enemy. Both parties lay all night on their arms; but, by break of day, Argyle betook himself to his galley, and rowing off shore, remained a spectator of the combat, when, by all the rules of duty and gratitude, he ought to have been at the head of his devoted followers. His unfortunate clansmen supported the honour of the name with the greatest courage, and many of the most distinguished fell on the field of battle. Montrose gained a complete victory, which greatly extended his influence over the Highlands, and in proportion diminished that of his discomfited rival. 2d Feb. 1645.

Having collected what force he could, Montrose now marched triumphantly to the north-east; and in the present successful posture of his affairs, at length engaged the Gordons to join him with a good body of cavalry, commanded by their young chief, Lord Gordon. The Convention of Estates were now most seriously alarmed. While Montrose had roamed through the Highlands, retreating before a superior enemy, and every moment apparently on the point of being overwhelmed, his progress was regarded as a distant danger. But he was now threatening the low country, and the ruling party were not so confident of their strength there as to set so bold an adventurer at defiance. They called from the army in England General Baillie, an officer of skill and character, and Sir John Urry, or, as the English called him, Hurry,

a brave and good partisan, but a mere soldier of fortune, who had changed sides more than once during the civil war.[1]

These generals commanded a body of veteran troops, with which they manœuvred to exclude Montrose from the southern districts, and prevent his crossing the Tay, or Forth. At the same time, the mandate of the Marquis of Huntly, or the intrigues of Lord Lewis Gordon, again recalled most of the Gordons from Montrose's standard, and his cavalry was reduced to one hundred and fifty. He was compelled once more to retire to the mountains, but desirous to dignify his retreat by some distinguished action, he resolved to punish the town of Dundee for their steady adherence to the cause of the Covenant. Accordingly, suddenly appearing before it with a chosen body selected for the service, he stormed the place on three points at once. The Highlanders and Irish, with incredible fury, broke open the gates, and forced an entrance. They were dispersing in quest of liquor and plunder, when at the very moment that Montrose threatened to set the town on fire, he received intelligence that Baillie and Urry, with four thousand men, were within a mile of the place. The crisis required all the acti-

4th April.

[1] [A Dugald Dalgetty!—"He had first fought on the Parliament side against the King; afterwards turned over for the King, and fought under him against them; now, having abandoned both sides, came home, and embraced this charge against Montrose; and many prophesied, that ere all were done, he would change again, and join himself to Montrose, which at length came to pass."—GUTHRY's (Bishop of Dunkeld) *Memoirs*, p. 174.]

vity of Montrose; and probably no other authority than his would have been able to withdraw the men from their revelling and plundering, to get his army into order, and to effect a retreat to the mountains, which he safely accomplished in the face of his numerous enemies, and with a degree of skill which established his military character as firmly as any of his victories.

Montrose was well seconded in this difficulty, by the hardihood and resolution of his men, who are said to have marched about sixty miles, and to have passed three days and two nights in manœuvring and fighting, without either food or refreshment.[1] In this manner that leader repeatedly baffled the numerous forces and able generals who were employed against him. The great check upon his enterprise was the restlessness of the Highlanders, and the caprice of the gentlemen who formed his cavalry, who all went and came at their own pleasure.

I have told you that the Gordons had been withdrawn from Montrose's standard, contrary to their own inclinations, by the command of Huntly, or

[1] [After mention of this, Wishart says, that when Montrose was alarmed by the enemy at Carestown, "his men had fallen so dead asleep, that they could hardly be awakened by any means;" and adds, "Whether these things will gain credit abroad, or with after ages, I cannot pretend to say; but I am certain that this narration is taken from the best information and the most credible evidence. And truly I have often heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march of Montrose to his most celebrated victories."—*Memoirs*, pp. 126, 127.]

the address of Lord Lewis Gordon. By employing his followers in enterprises in which the plunder was certain and the danger small, this young nobleman collected under his standard all those who were reluctant to share the toilsome marches, military hardships, and bloody fights to which they were led under that of Montrose. Hence a rhyme, not yet forgotten in Aberdeenshire,

> "If you with Lord Lewis go,
> You'll get reif and prey enough;
> If you with Montrose go,
> You'll get grief and wae enough."

But the Lord Gordon, Lewis's elder brother, continuing attached in the warmest manner to Montrose, was despatched by him to bring back the gentlemen of his warlike family, and his influence soon assembled considerable forces. General Baillie, learning this, detached Urry, his colleague, with a force which he thought sufficient to destroy Lord Gordon, while he himself proposed to engage the attention of Montrose till that point was gained.

But Montrose, penetrating the intention of the Covenanting generals, eluded Baillie's attempts to bring him to action, and traversed the mountains of the North like a whirlwind, to support Lord Gordon, and crush Urry. He accomplished his first object; the second appeared more difficult. Urry had been joined by the Covenanters of the shire of Moray, with the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland, and others who maintained the same cause, and had thus collected an army more numerous

than that of Montrose, even when united to Lord Gordon.

Montrose prepared, nevertheless, to give battle at the village of Aulderne, and drew up his men in an unusual manner, to conceal his inequality of force. The village, which is situated on an eminence, with high ground behind, was surrounded by enclosures on each side and in front.[1] He stationed on the right of the hamlet Alexander MacDonald, called Colkitto, with four hundred Irishmen and Highlanders, commanding them to maintain a defensive combat only, and giving them strict orders not to sally from some strong sheepfolds and enclosures, which afforded the advantages of a fortified position. As he wished to draw the attention of the enemy towards that point, he gave this wing charge of the royal standard, which was usually displayed where he commanded in person. On the left side of the village of Aulderne, he drew up the principal part of his force, he himself commanding the infantry, and Lord Gordon the cavalry. His two wings being thus formed, Montrose had in reality no

4th May, 1645.

[1] [Mr Pennant says, "Just beneath the church of Aulderne—between Elgin and Inverness—is the place where *Montrose* obtained a signal victory over the Covenanters, many of whose bodies lie in the church, with an inscription, imputing, according to the cant of the time, that they died fighting for their religion and their king." He adds, "I was told this anecdote of that hero; that he always carried with him a *Cæsar's Commentaries*, on whose margins were written, in *Montrose's* own hand, the generous sentiments of his heart, verses out of the Italian poets, expressing contempt of every thing but glory."—*Tour*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.]

centre force whatever; but a few resolute men were posted in front of the village, and his cannon being placed in the same line, made it appear as if the houses covered a body of infantry.

Urry, deceived by these dispositions, attacked with a preponderating force the position of MacDonald on the right. Colkitto beat the assailants back with the Irish musketeers, and the bows and arrows of the Highlanders, who still used these ancient missile weapons. But when the enemy, renewing their attack, taunted MacDonald with cowardice for remaining under shelter of the sheep-folds, that leader, whose bravery greatly excelled his discretion, sallied forth from his fastness, contrary to Montrose's positive command, to show he was not averse to fight on equal ground. The superiority of numbers, and particularly of cavalry, which was instantly opposed to him, soon threw his men into great disorder, and they could with difficulty be rallied by the desperate exertions of Colkitto, who strove to make amends for his error, by displaying the utmost personal valour.

A trusty officer was despatched to Montrose to let him know the state of affairs. The messenger found him on the point of joining battle, and whispered in his ear that Colkitto was defeated. This only determined Montrose to pursue with the greater audacity the plan of battle which he had adopted. "What are we doing?" he called out to Lord Gordon; "Macdonald has been victorious on the right, and if we do not make haste, he will carry off all the honours of the day." Lord Gordon

instantly charged with the gentlemen of his name, and beat the Covenanters' horse off the field; but the foot, though deserted by the horse, stood firm for some time, for they were veteran troops. At length they were routed on every point, and compelled to fly with great loss.

Montrose failed not instantly to lead succours to the relief of his right wing, which was in great peril. Colkitto had got his men again secured in the enclosures; he himself, having been all along the last to retreat, was now defending the entrance sword in hand, and with a target on his left arm. The pikemen pressed him so hard as to fix their spears in his target, while he repeatedly freed himself of them by cutting the heads from the shafts, in threes and fours at a time, by the unerring sweep of his broadsword.

While Colkitto and his followers were thus hard pressed, Montrose and his victorious troops appeared, and the face of affairs was suddenly changed. Urry's horse fled, but the foot, which were the strength of his army, fought bravely, and fell in the ranks which they occupied. Two thousand men, about a third of Urry's army, were slain in the battle of Aulderne,[1] and, completely disabled by

[1] [Wishart, chaplain to Montrose, says, "There were slain of the enemy about *three thousand foot*, among whom the veteran soldiers fought very bravely; but almost all their horse escaped by a more timely than honourable flight."—P. 136. Spalding has, "This overthrow was attributed to one Crowner or Major Drummond, who wheeled about unskilfully through his own foot, and brake their ranks, whereby they were all slain by the enemy; and for which, by a council of war thereafter holden at Inver-

the overthrow, that commander was compelled once more to unite his scattered forces with those of Baillie.

After some marching and counter-marching, the armies again found themselves in the neighbourhood of each other, near to the village of Alford.[1]

Montrose occupied a strong position on a hill, and it was said that the cautious Baillie would have avoided the encounter, had it not been that, having crossed the river Don, in the belief that Montrose was in full retreat, he only discovered his purpose of giving battle when it was too late to decline it. The number of infantry was about two thousand in each army. But Baillie had more than double his opponent's number of cavalry. Montrose's, indeed, were gentlemen, and therefore in the day of battle were more to be relied on than mere hirelings. The Gordons dispersed the Covenanting horse, on the first shock; and the musketeers, throwing down their muskets, and mingling in the tumult with their swords drawn, prevented the scattered cavalry from rallying. But as Lord Gordon threw himself, for the second time, into the heat of the fight, he fell from his horse, mor-

ness, he was shot, standing on his feet, but not at a post. There was reckoned to be slain here at this bloody battle above *two thousand men* to Hurry, and some twenty-four gentlemen hurt to Montrose, and some few Irishes killed, which is miraculous, and only foughten with God's own finger, as would appear, so many to be cut down on the one side and so few on the other; yet no thanks was given to God for this great victory."—*History of the Troubles*, &c. 8vo, p. 494.]

[1] [On the Don, 28 miles north of Aberdeen.]

tally wounded by a shot from one of the fugitives. This accident, which gave the greatest distress to Montrose, suspended the exertions of the cavalry, who, chiefly friends, kinsmen, and vassals of the deceased, flocked around him to lament the general loss. But the veterans of Montrose, charging in separate columns of six and ten men deep, along a line of three men only, broke the battle array of the Covenanters on various points, and utterly destroyed the remnant of Baillie's array, though they defended themselves bravely. This battle was fought 2d July, 1645.

These repeated victories gave such lustre to Montrose's arms, that he was now joined by the Highland clans in great numbers, and by many of the Lowland anti-covenanters, who had before held back, from doubt of his success in so unequal a contest.

On the other hand, the Convention of Estates, supported by the counsels of Argyle, who was bold in council though timid in battle, persevered in raising new troops, notwithstanding their repeated misfortunes and defeats. It seemed, indeed, as if Heaven had at this disastrous period an especial controversy with the kingdom of Scotland. To the efforts necessary to keep up and supply their auxiliary army in England, was added the desolation occasioned by a destructive civil war, maintained in the north with the utmost fury, and conducted on both sides with deplorable devastation. To these evils, as if not sufficient to exhaust the resources of a poor country, were now added those

of a wide-wasting plague, or pestilence, which raged through all the kingdom, but especially in Edinburgh, the metropolis. The Convention of Estates were driven from the capital by this dreadful infliction, and retreated to Perth, where they assembled a large force under General Baillie, while they ordered a new levy of ten thousand men generally throughout the kingdom. While Lanark, Cassilis, Eglinton, and other lords of the western shires, went to their respective counties to expedite the measure, Montrose, with his usual activity, descended from the mountains at the head of an army, augmented in numbers, and flushed with success.

He first approached the shores of the Forth, by occupying the shire of Kinross. And here I cannot help mentioning the destruction of a noble castle belonging to the House of Argyle. Its majestic ruins are situated on an eminence occupying a narrow glen of the Ochil chain of hills. In former days, it was called, from the character of its situation perhaps, the castle of Gloom; and the names of the parish, and the stream by which its banks are washed, had also an ominous sound. The castle of Gloom was situated on the brook of Grief or Gryfe, and in the parish of Doulour or Dollar. In the sixteenth century, the Earl of Argyle, the owner of this noble fortress, obtained an act of parliament for changing its name to Castle Campbell. The feudal hatred of Montrose, and of the clans composing the strength of his army, the vindictive resentment also of the Ogilvies, for the destruction of "the Bonnie House of Airlie," and that of the

Stirlingshire cavaliers for that of Menstrie,[1] doomed this magnificent pile to flames and ruin. The destruction of many a meaner habitation by the same unscrupulous and unsparing spirit of vengeance has been long forgotten, but the majestic remains of Castle Campbell still excite a sigh in those that view them, over the miseries of civil war.

After similar acts of ravage, not to be justified, though not unprovoked, Montrose marched westward along the northern margin of the Forth, insulting Perth, where the army of the Covenanters remained in their intrenchments, and even menacing the castle of Stirling, which, well garrisoned and strongly situated, defied his means of attack. About six miles above Stirling, Montrose crossed the Forth, by the deep and precarious ford which the river presents before its junction with the Teith. Having attained the southern bank, he directed his course westward, with the purpose of dispersing the levies which the western lords were collecting, and doubtless with the view of plundering the country, which had attached itself chiefly to the Covenant. Montrose had, however, scarcely reached Kilsyth, when he received the news that Baillie's army, departing from Perth, had also crossed the Forth, at the bridge of Stirling, and was close at hand. With his usual alacrity, Montrose prepared

[1] ["Argyle ordered the house of Menstrie, belonging to the Earl of Stirling, and the house of Aithrey, the property of Graham of Braco (a relation of Montrose) to be burnt. He sent a message to the Earl of Marr, threatening Alloa castle with the same calamity, for the hospitality Montrose had recently found in it."—NIMMO's *Hist. of Stirlingshire*, p. 532.]

for battle,[1] which Baillie, had he been left to his own judgment, would have avoided; for that skilful though unfortunate general knew by experience the talents of Montrose, and that the character of his troops was admirably qualified for a day of combat; he also considered that an army so composed might be tired out by cautious operations, and entertained the rational hope that the Highlanders and Lowland Cavaliers would alike desert their leader in the course of a protracted and indecisive warfare. But Baillie was no longer the sole commander of the Covenanting army. A Committee of the Estates, consisting of Argyle, Lanark, and Crawford-Lindsay, had been nominated to attend his army, and control his motions; and these, especially the Earl of Lindsay, insisted that the veteran general should risk the last regular army which the Covenanters possessed in Scotland, in the perils of a decisive battle. They marched against Montrose, accordingly, at break of day on the 15th August, 1645.

When Montrose beheld them advance, he exclaimed that it was what he had most earnestly desired. He caused his men to strip to their shirts, in token of their resolution to fight to the death Mean time the Covenanters approached. Their vanguard attacked an advanced post of

[1] ["The little hill where Montrose encamped the night before the engagement, is somewhat remarkable. The tents have been raised with sod, and it is easy at this day to distinguish the place where they stood, and the form and size of each. The station was extremely well chosen, and gave him every advantage over the enemy."—*Statist. Acct.* v. xviii. p. 298.]

Montrose, which occupied a strong position among cottages and enclosures. They were beaten off with loss. A thousand Highlanders, with their natural impetuosity, rushed, without orders, to pursue the fugitives, and to assault the troops who were advancing to support them. Two regiments of horse, against whom this mountain-torrent directed its fury, became disordered and fell back. Montrose saw the decisive moment, and ordered first a troop of horse, under command of Lord Airly, and afterwards his whole army, to attack the enemy, who had not yet got into line, their rearguard and centre coming up too slowly to the support of their vanguard. The hideous shout with which the Highlanders charged, their wild appearance, and the extraordinary speed with which they advanced, nearly naked, with broadsword in hand, struck a panic into their opponents, who dispersed without any spirited effort to get into line of battle, or maintain their ground. The Covenanters were beaten off the field, and pursued with indiscriminate slaughter [1] for more than ten miles.

[1] [" To this day, numberless scenes of blood and cruelty are recorded. One in particular is mentioned. A poor countryman having fled, with his four sons, was overtaken by a flying party. Being suspected by them, they instantly fell upon the old man, though feeble and unarmed. The generous youths clung around their aged sire, either to plead for or defend him. In this posture, it is said, they were all cut to pieces, and now lie in one tomb."—*Statistical Account*, vol. xviii. p. 298. " Near the field of battle on the south lies a large morass, called Dullator Bog, through the midst of which the Forth and Clyde Canal now stretches. Several of Baillie's cavalry, in the hurry of flight, ran unawares into it and perished. Both men and

Four or five thousand men were slain in the field and in the flight; and the force of the Convention was for the time entirely broken.[1]

Montrose was now master, for the moment, of the kingdom of Scotland. Edinburgh surrendered; Glasgow paid a heavy contribution; the noblemen and other individuals of distinction who had been imprisoned as royalists in Edinburgh, and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, were set at liberty; and so many persons of quality now declared for Montrose, either from attachment to the royal cause, which they had hitherto concealed, or from the probability of its being ultimately successful, that he felt himself in force sufficient to call a Parliament at Glasgow in the King's name.

Still, however, the success of this heroic leader had only given him possession of the open country; all the strong fortresses were still in possession of the Covenanters; and it would have required a length of time, and the services of an army regu-

horses have been dug up there, in the memory of people yet alive. As moss is endowed with an antiseptic quality, the corpses were not greatly consumed."—NIMMO, p. 538.]

[1] ["Montrose lost only six men (Guthrie says seven or eight, p. 194); three of them were gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, who fell in the attack by Lord Airly, to which the victory was in a great measure owing. The noblemen who were in the Covenanters' army saved themselves by a timely retreat and the swiftness of their horses. Some of them reached the castle of Stirling, while others got to the frith of Forth, and went aboard some ships they found lying at anchor in the roads. Among these was Argyle, who now, for the third time, saved himself by means of a boat; and even then he did not reckon himself secure, till they had weighed anchor, and carried the vessel out to sea."—WISHART, pp. 170, 171.]

larly disciplined and supplied with heavy artillery, to have reduced the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbarton, and other places of great strength. But if Montrose had possessed the forces necessary for such a work, he had neither leisure nor inclination to undertake it. From the beginning of his extraordinary, and hitherto successful career, he had secretly entertained the dazzling hope of leading a victorious army into England, and replacing King Charles in possession of his disputed authority. It was a daring scheme, and liable to many hazards; yet if the King's affairs in England had remained in any tolerable condition, especially if there had been any considerable army of Royalists in the north of England to join or co-operate with Montrose, there is no calculating what the talents and genius of such an enterprising leader might have ultimately done in support of the Royal cause.

But Charles, as I will presently tell you more particularly, had suffered so many and such fatal losses, that it may be justly doubted whether the assistance of Montrose, unless at the head of much larger forces than he could be expected to gather, would have afforded any material assistance against the numerous and well-disciplined army of the Parliament. The result of a contest which was never tried can only be guessed at. Montrose's own hopes and confidence were as lofty as his ambition; and he did not permit himself to doubt the predictions of those who assured him, that he

was doomed to support the tottering throne, and reinstate in safety the falling monarch.

Impressed with such proud anticipations, he wrote to the King, urging him to advance to the northern border, and form a junction with his victorious army, and concluding his request with the words which Joab, the lieutenant of King David, is recorded in Scripture to have used to the King of Israel,—"I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters. Now therefore gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it; lest I take the city, and it be called after my name."[1]

While Montrose was thus urging King Charles, by the brilliant prospects which he held out, to throw himself on his protection, his own army mouldered away and dispersed, even in a greater degree than had been the case after his less distinguished successes. The Highland clans went home to get in their harvest, and place their spoil in safety. It was needless and useless to refuse them leave, for they were determined to take it. The north-country gentlemen also, wearied of the toils of the campaign, left his army in numbers; so that when Montrose received, by the hands of Sir Robert Spottiswood, the King's commission under the Great Seal, naming him captain-general and lieutenant-governor of Scotland, he commanded a force scarcely more effective than when he was wandering through Athole and Badenoch.

[1] [2 Samuel, c. xii. v. 27-28.]

The King's orders, however, and his own indomitable spirit of enterprise, determined his march towards the Borders.

About fifty years before, these districts would have supplied him, even upon the lighting of their beacons, with ten thousand cavalry, as fond of fighting and plunder as any Highlander in his army. But that period, as I have told you, had passed away. The inhabitants of the Border-land had become peaceful, and the chiefs and lords, whose influence might still have called them out to arms, were hostile to the Crown, or, at best, lukewarm in its cause. The Earl of Buccleuch, and his friends of the name of Scott, who had never forgotten the offence given by the revocation of James's donations to their chief, were violent Covenanters, and had sent a strong clan-regiment with the Earl of Leven and the Scottish auxiliaries. Traquair, Roxburghe, and Hume, all entertained, or affected, regard to the King, but made no effectual effort in raising men. The once formidable name of Douglas, and the exertions of the Earl of Annandale, could only assemble some few troops of horse, whom the historian, Bishop Guthrie, describes as truthless trained bands. Montrose expected to meet a body of more regular cavalry, who were to be despatched from England; but the King's continued misfortunes prevented him from making such a diversion.

Mean while the Scottish army in England received an account of the despair to which the battle of Kilsyth had reduced the Convention of Estates,

and learned that several of its most distinguished members were already exiles, having fled to Berwick and other strong places on the Border, which were garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces. The importance of the crisis was felt, and David Lesley was despatched, at the head of five or six thousand men, chiefly cavalry, and the flower of the Scottish auxiliary army, with the charge of checking the triumphs of Montrose.

Lesley crossed the Border at Berwick, and proceeded on his march towards the metropolis, as if it had been his view to get between Montrose and the Highlands, and to prevent his again receiving assistance from his faithful mountaineers. But that sagacious general's intentions were of a more decisive character; for, learning that Montrose, with his little army, lay quartered in profound security near Selkirk, he suddenly altered his march, left the Edinburgh road when he came to Edgebucklingbrae, above Musselburgh, crossed the country to Middleton, and then turning southward, descended the vale of the Gala to Melrose, in which place, and the adjacent hamlets, he quartered his army for the night.

Montrose's infantry, mean while, lay encamped on an elevated ascent, called Philiphaugh,[1] on the

[1] [''The river Ettrick, immediately after its junction with the Yarrow, and previous to its falling into the Tweed, makes a large sweep to the southward, and winds almost beneath the lofty banks on which the town of Selkirk stands: having upon the northern side a large and level plain, extending in an easterly direction, from a hill covered with natural copsewood, called the Harehead-wood, to the high ground which forms the banks of the

left bank of the Ettrick, while his cavalry, with their distinguished general in person, were quartered in the town of Selkirk; a considerable stream being thus interposed betwixt the two parts of his army, which should have been so stationed as to be ready to support each other on a sudden alarm. But Montrose had no information of the vicinity of Lesley, though the Covenanters had passed the night within four miles of his camp. This indicates that he must have been very ill served by his own patrols, and that his cause must have been unpopular in that part of the country, since a single horseman, at the expense of half an hour's gallop, might have put him fully on his guard.

On the morning of the 13th September, 1645, Lesley, under cover of a thick mist, approached Montrose's camp, and had the merit, by his dexterity and vigilance, of surprising him, whom his enemies had never before found unprepared. The Covenanting general divided his troops into two divisions, and attacked both flanks of the enemy at the same time. Those on the left made but a tumultuary and imperfect resistance; the right wing,

Tweed, near Sunderland hall. This plain is called Philiphaugh. It is about a mile and a half in length, and a quarter of a mile broad; and being defended, to the northward, by the hills which separate Tweed from Yarrow, by the river Ettrick in front, and by the high grounds, already mentioned, on each flank, it forms, at once, a convenient and a secure field of encampment."—*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.—Sir Walter here adds, "The Scottish language is rich in words expressive of local situation. The single word *haugh* conveys to a Scotsman almost all that I have endeavoured to explain in the text by circumlocutory description."]

supported by a wood, fought in a manner worthy of their general's fame. Montrose himself, roused by the firing and noise of the action, hastily assembled his cavalry, crossed the Ettrick, and made a desperate attempt to recover the victory, omitting nothing which courage or skill could achieve, to rally his followers. But when at length left with only thirty horse, he was compelled to fly, and, retreating up the Yarrow, crossed into the vale of Tweed, and reached Peebles, where some of his followers joined him.

The defeated army suffered severely. The prisoners taken by the Covenanters were massacred without mercy, and in cold blood. They were shot in the court-yard of Newark castle, upon Yarrow, and their bodies hastily interred at a place, called, from that circumstance, Slain-men's-lee. The ground being, about twenty years since, opened for the foundation of a school-house, the bones and skulls, which were dug up in great quantities, plainly showed the truth of the country tradition. Many cavaliers, both officers and others, men of birth and character, the companions of Montrose's many triumphs, fell into the hands of the victors, and were, as we shall afterwards see, put to an ignominious death. The prisoners, both of high and low degree, would have been more numerous, but for the neighbourhood of the Harehead-wood, into which the fugitives escaped. Such were the immediate consequences of this battle; concerning which, the country people often quote the following lines:—

"At Philiphaugh the fray began;
At Harehead-wood it ended.
The Scots out owre the Grahams they ran,
Sae merrily they bended." [1]

Montrose, after this disastrous action, retreated again into the Highlands, where he once more assembled an army of mountaineers. But his motions ceased to be of the consequence which they had acquired before he had experienced defeat. General Middleton, a man of military talents, but a soldier of fortune, was despatched against him by the Convention of Estates, which was eager to recover the same power in the Highlands, which David Lesley's victory had re-established throughout the Lowlands.

While Montrose was thus engaged in an obscure mountain warfare, the King having already surrendered himself to the Scottish auxiliaries, in total despair of the ultimate success, and anxious for the safety of his adventurous general, sent orders to him to dissolve his army, and to provide for his personal security, by leaving the kingdom. Montrose would not obey the first order, concluding it had been extorted from the monarch. To a second, and more peremptory injunction, he yielded obedience, and disbanding his army, embarked in a brig bound for Bergen in Norway, with a few adherents, who were too obnoxious to the Covenanters, to permit of their

3d Sept. 1646.

[1] [For more particulars regarding the battle of Philiphaugh, see this ballad, with Introduction and Notes, in the *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 166–182.]

remaining in Scotland. Lest their little vessel should be searched by an English ship of war, Montrose wore the disguise of a domestic, and passed for the servant of his chaplain and biographer, Dr George Wishart. You may remember that he wore a similar disguise on entering Scotland, in order to commence his undertaking.

This, and the preceding chapter, give an account of the brief, but brilliant period of Montrose's success. A future one will contain the melancholy conclusion of his exertions, and of his life.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Interference of the Presbyterian Clergy to procure the Execution of the Prisoners taken at Philiphaugh—Reflections on the Unhappy Effects of Religious Persecution—Respective Views of the Independents and Presbyterians—Cromwell's Successes—King Charles's Surrender to the Scottish Army—Their Surrender of him to the English Parliament.

[1645—1647.]

I MUST now tell you the fate of the unfortunate cavaliers who had been made prisoners at Philiphaugh. The barbarous treatment of the common soldiers you are already acquainted with.

Argyle, the leader of the Convention of Estates, had to resent the devastation of his country, and the destruction of his castles; and his desire of vengeance was so common to the age, that it would have been accounted neglect of his duty to his slain kinsmen and plundered clan, if he had let slip the favourable opportunity of exacting blood for blood. Other noblemen of the Convention had similar motives; and, besides, they had all been greatly alarmed at Montrose's success; and nothing makes men more pitiless than the recollection of recent fears. It ought partly to have assuaged these

vindictive feelings, that Montrose's ravages, although they were sufficiently wasting, were less encouraged by the officers, than arising from the uncontrollable license of an unpaid soldiery. The prisoners had always been treated with honour and humanity, and frequently dismissed on parole. So that, if the fate of Montrose's companions had depended on the Convention alone, it is possible, that almost all might have been set at liberty upon moderate conditions. But unfortunately the Presbyterian clergy thought proper to interfere strenuously between the prisoners, and the mercy which they might otherwise have experienced.

And here it must be owned, that the Presbyterian ministers of that period were in some respects a different kind of men from their predecessors, in the reign of James VI. Malice cannot, indeed, accuse them of abusing the power which they had acquired since their success in 1640, for the purpose of increasing either their own individual revenues, or those of the church; nor had the system of strict morality, by which they were distinguished, been in any degree slackened. They remained in triumph, as they had been in suffering, honourably poor and rigidly moral. But yet, though inaccessible to the temptations of avarice or worldly pleasure, the Presbyterian clergy of this period cannot be said to have been superior to ambition and the desire of power; and as they were naturally apt to think that the advancement of religion was best secured by the influence of the church to which they belonged, they were disposed to extend that

influence by the strictest exertion of domestic discipline. Enquiry into the conduct of individuals was carried on by the Church-courts with indecent eagerness; and faults or follies, much fitter for private censure and admonition, were brought forward in the face of the public congregation. The hearers were charged every Sabbath-day, that each individual should communicate to the Kirk Session (a court composed of the clergyman and certain selected laymen of the parish) whatever matter of scandal or offence against religion and morality should come to their ears; and thus an inquisitorial power was exercised by one half of the parish over the other. This was well meant, but had bad consequences. Every idle story being made the subject of anxious investigation, the private happiness of families was disturbed, and discord and suspicion were sown where mutual confidence is most necessary.

This love of exercising authority in families, was naturally connected with a desire to maintain that high influence in the state, which the Presbyterian church had acquired since the downfall of prelacy. The Scottish clergy had of late become used to consider their peculiar form of church government, which unquestionably has many excellences, as something almost as essential as religion itself; and it was but one step farther, to censure every one who manifested a design to destroy the system, or limit the power, of the Presbyterian discipline, as an enemy to religion of every kind, nay, even to the Deity himself. Such opinions were particularly

strong amongst those of the clergy who attended the armies in the field, seconded them by encouragement from the pulpits, or aided them by actually assuming arms themselves. The ardour of such men grew naturally more enthusiastic in proportion to the opposition they met with, and the dangers they encountered. The sights and sentiments which attend civil conflict, are of a kind to reconcile the human heart, however generous and humane by nature, to severe language and cruel actions. Accordingly, we cannot be surprised to find that some of the clergy forgot that a *malignant*, for so they called a Royalist, was still a countryman and fellow Christian, born under the same government, speaking the same language, and hoping to be saved by the power of the same creed, with themselves; or that they directed against such Cavaliers and Episcopalians those texts of Scripture, in which the Jews were, by especial commission, commanded to extirpate the heathen inhabitants of the Promised Land.

One of these preachers enlarged on such a topic after Lesley's victory, and chose his text from the 15th chapter of 1st Samuel, where the prophet rebukes Saul for sparing the king of the Amalekites, and for having saved some part of the flocks and herds of that people, which Heaven had devoted to utter destruction,—"What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears?" In his sermon, he said that Heaven demanded the blood of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh, as devoted by the Divine command to destruction; nor could the

sins of the people be otherwise atoned for, or the wrath of Heaven averted from the land. It is probable, that the preacher was himself satisfied with the doctrine which he promulgated; for it is wonderful how people's judgment is blinded by their passions, and how apt we are to find plausible, and even satisfactory reasons, for doing what our interest, or that of the party we have embraced, strongly recommends.

The Parliament, consisting entirely of Covenanters, instigated by the importunity of the clergy, condemned eight of the most distinguished cavaliers to execution. Four were appointed to suffer at St Andrews, that their blood might be an atonement, as the phrase went, for the number of men (said to exceed five thousand) whom the county of Fife had lost during Montrose's wars. Lord Ogilvy was the first of these; but that young nobleman escaped from prison and death in his sister's clothes. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, one of the bravest men and best soldiers in Europe, and six other cavaliers of the first distinction, were actually executed.

We may particularly distinguish the fate of Sir Robert Spottiswood, who, when the wars broke out, was Secretary Lord President of the Court of Session, and accounted a judge of great talent and learning. He had never borne arms; but the crime of having brought to Montrose his commission as Captain-General of Scotland, and of having accepted the office of secretary, which the Parliament had formerly conferred on Lanark, was

thought quite worthy of death, without any further act of treason against the Estates. When on the scaffold, he vindicated his conduct with the dignity of a judge, and the talents of a lawyer. He was rudely enjoined to silence by the Provost of St Andrews, who had formerly been a servant of his father's, when prelate of that city. The victim submitted to this indignity with calmness, and betook himself to his private devotions. He was even in this task interrupted by the Presbyterian minister in attendance, who demanded of him whether he desired the benefit of his prayers, and those of the assembled people. Sir Robert replied, that he earnestly demanded the prayers of the people, but rejected those of the preacher; for that, in his opinion, God had expressed his displeasure against Scotland, by sending a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets,—a far greater curse, he said, than those of sword, fire, and pestilence. An old servant of his family took care of Spottiswood's body, and buried him privately. It is said that this faithful domestic, passing through the market-place a day or two afterwards, and seeing the scaffold on which his master had suffered still unremoved, and stained with his blood, was so greatly affected, that he sunk down in a swoon, and died as they were lifting him over his own threshold. Such are the terrible scenes which civil discord gives occasion to; and, my dear child, you will judge very wrong if you suppose them peculiar to one side or other of the contending parties in the present case. You will learn hereafter, that

the same disposition to abuse power, which is common, I fear, to all who possess it in an unlimited degree, was exercised with cruel retaliation by the Episcopalian party over the Presbyterians, when their hour of authority revived.

We must now turn our thoughts to England, the stage on which the most important scenes were acting, to which these in Scotland can only be termed very subordinate. And here I may remark, that, greatly to the honour of the English nation,—owing, perhaps, to the natural generosity and good-humour of the people, or to the superior influence of civilisation,—the civil war in that country, though contested with the utmost fury in the open field, was not marked by any thing approaching to the violent atrocities of the Irish, or the fierce and ruthless devastation exercised by the Scottish combatants. The days of deadly feud had been long past, if the English ever followed that savage custom, and the spirit of malice and hatred which it fostered had no existence in that country. The English parties contended manfully in battle, but, unless in the storming of towns, when all evil passions are afloat, they seem seldom to have been guilty of cruelty or wasteful ravage. They combated like men who have quarrelled on some special point, but, having had no ill-will against each other before, are resolved to fight it out fairly, without bearing malice. On the contrary, the cause of Prelacy or Presbytery, King or Parliament, was often what was least in the thoughts of the Scottish barons, who made such phrases indeed the

pretext for the war, but in fact looked forward to indulging, at the expense of some rival family, the treasured vengeance of a hundred years.

But though the English spirit did not introduce into their civil war the savage aspect of the Scottish feuds, they were not free from the religious dissensions, which formed another curse of the age. I have already said, that the party which opposed itself to the King and the Church of England, was, with the followers of the Parliament, and the Parliament itself, divided into two factions, that of the Presbyterians and that of the Independents. I have also generally mentioned the points on which these two parties differed. I must now notice them more particularly.

The Presbyterian establishment, as I have often stated, differs from that of the Church of England, in the same manner as a republic, all the members of which are on a footing of equality, differs from a monarchial constitution. In the Kirk of Scotland, all the ministers are on an equality; in the Church of England, there is a gradation of ranks, ascending from the lowest order of clergymen to the rank of bishop. But each system is alike founded upon the institution of a body of men, qualified by studies of a peculiar nature to become preachers of the gospel, and obliged to show they are so qualified, by undergoing trials and examinations of their learning and capacity, before they can take holy orders, that is to say, become clergymen. Both Churches also agree in secluding from ordinary professions and avocations, the persons

engaged in the ministry, and in considering them as a class of men set apart for teaching religious duties and solemnizing religious rites. It is also the rule alike of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, that the National Church, as existing in its courts and judicatories, has power to censure, suspend from their functions, and depose from their clerical character and clerical charge, such of its members as, either by immoral and wicked conduct, or by preaching and teaching doctrines inconsistent with the public creed, shall render themselves unfit to execute the trust reposed in them. And further, both these national churches maintain, that such courts and judicatories have power over their lay hearers, and those who live in communion with them, to rebuke transgressors of every kind, and to admonish them to repentance; and if such admonitions are neglected, to expel them from the congregation by the sentence of excommunication.

Thus far most Christian Churches agree; and thus far the claims and rights of a national church are highly favourable to the existence of a regular government; since reason, as well as the general usage of the religious world, sanctions the establishment of the clergy as a body of men separated from the general class of society, that they may set an example of regularity of life by the purity of their morals. Thus set apart from the rest of the community, they are supported at the expense of the state, in order that the reverence due to them may not be lessened by their being compelled, for

the sake of subsistence, to mingle in the ordinary business of life, and share the cares and solicitudes incidental to those who must labour for their daily bread.

How far the civil magistrate can be wisely intrusted with the power of enforcing spiritual censures, or seconding the efforts of the church to obtain general conformity, by inflicting the penalties of fines, imprisonment, bodily punishment, and death itself, upon those who differ in doctrinal points from the established religion, is a very different question. It is no doubt true, that wild sects have sometimes started up, whose tenets have involved direct danger to the state. But such offenders ought to be punished, not as offenders against the church, but as transgressors against the laws of the kingdom. While their opinions remain merely speculative, the persons entertaining them may deserve expulsion from the national church, with which indeed they could consistently desire no communion; but while they do not carry these erroneous tenets into execution, by any treasonable act, it does not appear the province of the civil magistrate to punish them for opinions only. And if the zeal of such sectaries should drive them into action, they deserve punishment, not for holding unchristian doctrines, but for transgressing the civil laws of the realm. This distinction was little understood in the days we write of, and neither the English nor the Scottish church can be vindicated from the charge of attempting to force men's

consciences, by criminal persecutions for acts of non-conformity, though not accompanied by any civil trespass.

Experience and increasing knowledge have taught the present generation, that such severities have always increased the evil they were intended to cure; and that mild admonition, patient instruction, and a good example, may gain many a convert to the established churches, whom persecution and violence would have only confirmed in his peculiar opinions. You have read the fable of the traveller, who wrapped his cloak the faster about him when the storm blew loud, but threw it aside in the serene beams of the sunshine. It applies to the subject I have been speaking of, as much as to the advantages of gentleness and mild persuasion in social life.

I return to the distinction between the Independents and Presbyterians during the civil wars of the reign of Charles I. The latter, as you already know, stood strongly out for a national church and an established clergy, with full powers to bind and loose, and maintained by the support of the civil government. Such a Church had been fully established in Scotland, and it was the ardent wish of its professors that the English should adopt the same system. Indeed, it was in the hope of attaining this grand object that the consent of the Scottish Convention of Estates was given, to sending an auxiliary army to assist the Parliament of England; and they had never suffered themselves to doubt that the adoption of the Presbyterian dis-

cipline in that country was secured by the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. But the Independents had, from the beginning, entertained the secret resolution of opposing the establishment of a national church of any kind in England.

The opinions of these sectaries stood thus on matters of church government. Every one, they said, had a right to read the Scriptures, and draw such conclusions respecting the doctrines which are there inculcated, as his own private judgment should hold most conformable to them. They went farther, and argued, that every man who felt himself called upon to communicate to others the conclusions which he had derived from reading the Bible, and meditating on its contents, had a right, and a call from Heaven, to preach and teach the peculiar belief which he had thus adopted. It was no matter how obscure had been the individual's condition in life, or how limited the course of his education; he was equally entitled, in their opinion, to act as a minister, as if he had studied with success for twenty years, and taken orders from a bishop, or from a presbytery. If such a gifted preacher could prevail on six persons to admit his doctrines, these six persons, according to the doctrine of the Independents, made a Christian congregation; and, as far as religious instruction was concerned, the orator became their spiritual head and teacher. Be his hearers many or few, they were thenceforward his sheep, and he their spiritual shepherd. But to all the rest of the world, except his own congregation, the Independents

held, that every preacher remained an ordinary layman, having no claim on the state for revenue or subsistence. If he could persuade his congregation to contribute to his support, he was the more fortunate. If not, he lived by his ordinary calling, of a baker, a tailor, or a shoemaker, and consoled himself that he resembled St Paul, who wrought with his hands for his livelihood.

Of the congregations or sects thus formed, there were in England hundreds, perhaps thousands, most of them disagreeing from each other in doctrine, and only united by the common opinion peculiar to them all as Independents, that each private Christian had a right to teach or to listen to whatever doctrines he thought fit; that there ought to exist no church courts of any kind; that the character of a preacher was only to be recognised by those disciples who chose to be taught by him; and that, in any more extensive point of view, there ought not to exist any body of priests or clergymen by profession, any church government, or church judicatories, or any other mode of enforcing religious doctrine, save by teaching it from the pulpit, and admonishing the sinner, or, if necessary, expelling him from the congregation. This last, indeed, could be no great infliction where there were so many churches ready to receive him, or where, if he pleased, he might set up a church for himself.

The Sectaries, as the Independents were termed, entertained, as may be supposed, very wild doctrines. Men of an enthusiastic spirit, and sometimes a crazed imagination, as opinionative as they

were ignorant, and many of them as ignorant as the lowest vulgar, broached an endless variety of heresies, some of them scandalous, some even blasphemous; others, except on account of the serious subject they referred to, extremely ludicrous.

But the preachers and hearers of these strange doctrines were not confined to the vulgar and ignorant. Too much learning made some men mad. Sir Henry Vane, one of the subtlest politicians in England, and Milton, one of the greatest poets ever born, caught the spirit of the times, and became Independents. But above all, Oliver Cromwell, destined to rise to the supreme power in England, was of that form of religion.

This remarkable person was of honourable descent, but, inheriting a small fortune, had practised at one time the occupation of a brewer. After a course of gaiety and profligacy during early youth, he caught a strong taint of the enthusiasm of the times, and made himself conspicuous by his aversion to Prelacy, and his zealous opposition to the arbitrary measures of the King. He became a member of Parliament, but, as he spoke indifferently, made no figure in that body, being only prominent for his obstinacy and uncompromising zeal. When, however, the Parliament raised their army, the military talents of Cromwell made him early distinguished. It was remarked that he was uniformly successful in every contest in which he was personally engaged, and that he was the first officer who could train and bring to

the field a body of cavalry capable of meeting the shock of the Cavaliers, whose high birth, lofty courage, and chivalrous bravery, made them formidable opponents of the Parliamentary forces. His regiment of Ironsides, as they were called, from the cuirasses which the men wore, were carefully exercised, and accustomed to strict military discipline, while their courage was exalted by the enthusiasm which their commander contrived to inspire. He preached to them himself, prayed for them and with them, and attended with an air of edification to any who chose to preach or pray in return. The attention of these military fanatics was so fixed upon the mysteries of the next world, that death was no terror to them; and the fiery valour of the Cavaliers was encountered and repelled, by men who fought for their own ideas of religion as determinedly as their enemies did for honour and loyalty. The spirit of the Independent sectaries spread generally through the army, and the Parliament possessed no troops so excellent as those who followed these doctrines.

The great difference betwixt the Presbyterians and Independents consisted, as I have told you, in the desire of the former to establish their form of religion and church government as the national church establishment of England, and of course to compel a general acquiescence in their articles of faith. For this, a convention of the most learned and able divines was assembled at Westminster, who settled the religious creed of the intended church according to the utmost rigour of the Presbyterian

creed. This assumption of exclusive power over the conscience alarmed the Independents, and in the dispute which ensued, the consciousness of their own interest with the army gave the sectaries new courage and new pretensions.

At first the Independents had been contented to let the Presbyterians of England, a numerous and wealthy body, take the lead in public measures. But as their own numbers increased, and their leaders became formidable from their interest with the army, they resisted the intention which the Presbyterians showed of establishing their own faith in England as well as Scotland. Sir Henry Vane persuaded them to temporize a little longer, since to oppose Presbytery was to disgust the Scottish auxiliaries, enamoured as they were of their national system. "We cannot yet dispense with the assistance of the Scots," he said; "the sons of Zeruiah are still too many for us." But the progress of the war, while it totally ruined the King's party, gradually diminished the strength of the Presbyterians, and increased that of the Independents. The Earls of Essex and Manchester, generals chosen from the former party, had sustained many losses, which were attributed to incapacity; and they were accused of having let slip advantages, from which it was supposed they had no wish to drive the King to extremity. People began to murmur against the various high offices in the army and state being exclusively occupied by members of Parliament, chiefly Presbyterians; and the protracted length of the civil

hostilities was imputed to the desire of such persons to hold in their possession as long as possible the authority which the war placed in their hands.

The Parliament felt that their popularity was in danger of being lost, and looked about for means of recovering it. While their minds were thus troubled, Cromwell suggested a very artful proposal. To recover the confidence of the nation, the members of Parliament, he said, ought to resign all situations of trust or power which they possessed, and confine themselves exclusively to the discharge of their legislative duty. The Parliament fell into the snare. They enacted what was called the self-denying ordinance; by which, in order to show their disinterested patriotism, the members laid down all their offices, civil and military, and rendered themselves incapable of resuming them. This act of self-deprivation proved in the event a death-blow to the power of the Presbyterians; the places which were thus simply resigned being instantly filled up by the ablest men in the Independent party.

Two members of Parliament, however, were allowed to retain command. The one was Sir Thomas Fairfax, a Presbyterian, whose military talents had been highly distinguished during the war, but who was much under the guidance of Oliver Cromwell. The other was Cromwell himself, who had the title of lieutenant-general only, but in fact enjoyed, through his influence over the soldiers, and even over Fairfax himself, all the advantage of supreme command.

The success of Cromwell in this grand measure led to remodelling the army after his own plan, in which he took care their numbers should be recruited, their discipline improved, and, above all, their ranks filled up with Independents. The influence of these changes was soon felt in the progress of the war. The troops of the King sustained various checks, and at length a total defeat in the battle of Naseby, from the effect of which the affairs of Charles could never recover. Loss after loss succeeded; the strong places which the Royalists possessed were taken one after another; and the King's cause was totally ruined. The successes of Montrose had excited a gleam of hope, which disappeared after his defeat at Philiphaugh. Finally, King Charles was shut up in the city of Oxford, which had adhered to his cause with the most devoted loyalty; the last army which he had in the field was destroyed; and he had no alternative save to remain in Oxford till he should be taken prisoner, to surrender himself to his enemies, or to escape abroad.

In circumstances so desperate, it was difficult to make a choice. A frank surrender to the Parliament, or an escape abroad, would have perhaps been the most advisable conduct. But the Parliament and their own Independent army were now on the brink of quarrelling. The establishment of the Presbyterian Church was resolved upon, though only for a time and in a limited form, and both parties were alike dissatisfied; the zealous Presbyterians, because it gave the church courts too

little power; the Independents, because it invested them with any control, however slight, over persons of a different communion. Amidst the disputes of his opponents, the King hoped to find his way back to the throne.

For this purpose, and to place himself in a situation, as he hoped, from whence to negotiate with safety, Charles determined to surrender himself to that Scottish army which had been sent into England, under the Earl of Leven, as auxiliaries of the English Parliament. The King concluded that he might expect personal protection, if not assistance, from an army composed of his own countrymen. Besides, the Scottish army had lately been on indifferent terms with the English. The Independent troops, who now equalled, or even excelled them in discipline, and were actuated by an enthusiasm which the Scots did not possess, looked with an evil eye on an army composed of foreigners and Presbyterians. The English in general, as soon as their assistance was no longer necessary, began to regard their Scottish brethren as an incumbrance; and the Parliament, while they supplied the Independent forces liberally with money and provisions, neglected the Scots in both these essentials, whose honour and interest were affected in proportion. A perfect acquaintance with the discontent of the Scottish army, induced Charles to throw himself upon their protection in his misfortunes.

He left Oxford in disguise, on 27th April, 1646, having only two attendants. Nine days after his

departure, he surprised the old Earl of Leven and the Scottish camp, who were then forming the siege of Newark, by delivering himself into their hands. The Scots received the unfortunate monarch with great outward respect, but guarded his person with vigilance. They immediately broke up the siege, and marched with great speed to the north, carrying the person of the King along with them, and observing the strictest discipline on their retreat. When their army arrived at Newcastle, a strong town which they themselves had taken, and where they had a garrison, they halted to await the progress of negotiations at this singular crisis.

Upon surrendering himself to the Scottish army, King Charles had despatched a message to the Parliament, expressing his having done so, desiring that they would send him such articles of pacification as they should agree upon, and offering to surrender Oxford, Newark, and whatever other garrisons or strong places he might still possess, and order the troops he had on foot to lay down their arms. The places were surrendered accordingly, honourable terms being allowed; and the army of Montrose in the Highlands, and such other forces as the Royalists still maintained throughout England, were disbanded, as I have already told you, by the King's command.

The Parliament showed great moderation, and the civil war seemed to be ended. The articles of pacification which they offered were not more rigorous than the desperate condition of the King must

have taught him to expect. But questions of religion interfered to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

In proportion as the great majority of the Parliament were attached to the Presbyterian forms, Charles was devoted to the system of Episcopacy. He deemed himself bound by his coronation oath to support the Church of England, and he would not purchase his own restoration to the throne by consenting to its being set aside. Here, therefore, the negotiation betwixt the King and his Parliament was broken off; but another was opened between the English Parliament and the Scottish army, concerning the disposal of the King's person.

If Charles could have brought his mind to consent to the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, it is probable that he would have gained all Scotland to his side. This, however, would have been granting to the Scots what he had refused to the Parliament; for the support of Presbytery was the essential object of the Scottish invasion. On the other hand, it could hardly be expected that the Scottish Convention of Estates should resign the very point on which it had begun and continued the war. The Church of Scotland sent forth a solemn warning, that all engagement with the King was unlawful. The question, therefore, was, what should be done with the person of Charles.

The generous course would have been, to have suffered the King to leave the Scottish army as freely as he came there. In that case he might

have embarked at Tynemouth, and found refuge in foreign countries. And even if the Scots had determined that the exigencies of the times, and the necessity of preserving the peace betwixt England and Scotland, together with their engagements with the Parliament of England, demanded that they should surrender the person of their King to that body, the honour of Scotland was intimately concerned in so conducting the transaction, that there should be no room for alleging that any selfish advantage was stipulated by the Scots as a consequence of giving him up. I am almost ashamed to write, that this honourable consideration had no weight.

The Scottish army had a long arrear of pay due to them from the English Parliament, which the latter had refused, or at least delayed, to make forthcoming. A treaty for the settlement of these arrears had been set on foot; and it had been agreed that the Scottish forces should retreat into their own country, upon payment of two hundred thousand pounds, which was one-half of the debt finally admitted. Now, it is true that these two treaties, concerning the delivery of the King's person to England, and the payment by Parliament of their pecuniary arrears to Scotland, were kept separate, for the sake of decency; but it is certain, that they not only coincided in point of time, but bore upon and influenced each other. No man of candour will pretend to believe that the Parliament of England would ever have paid this considerable sum, unless to facilitate their obtaining possession of the

King's person; and this sordid and base transaction, though the work exclusively of a mercenary army, stamped the whole nation of Scotland with infamy. In foreign countries they were upbraided with the shame of having made their unfortunate and confiding Sovereign a hostage, whose liberty or surrender was to depend on their obtaining payment of a paltry sum of arrears; and the English nation reproached them with their greed and treachery, in the popular rhyme,—

> "Traitor Scot
> Sold his King for a groat."

The Scottish army surrendered the person of Charles to the Commissioners for the English Parliament, on receiving security for their arrears of pay, and immediately evacuated Newcastle and marched for their own country. 28th Jan. 1647. I am sorry to conclude the chapter with this mercenary and dishonourable transaction; but the limits of the work require me to bring it thus to a close.

CHAPTER XLV.

The King taken Prisoner by the English Army, and placed in the Palace of Hampton Court—His Escape to the Isle of Wight, and Imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle—Treaty with the Scotch, known by the name of the Engagement—the Engagers enter England with an Army, and are Defeated—High Court of Justice appointed to try the King—The Trial—Execution of Charles I.

[1647–1649.]

Our last chapter concluded with the dishonourable transaction by which the Scottish army surrendered Charles I. into the hands of the Parliament of England, on receiving security for a sum of arrears due to them by that body.

The Commissioners of Parliament, thus possessed of the King's person, conducted him as a state prisoner to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, which had been assigned as his temporary residence; but from which a power different from theirs was soon about to withdraw him.

The Independents, as I have said, highly resented as a tyranny over their consciences the establishment of Presbytery, however temporary, or however mitigated, in the form of a national church; and were no less displeased, that the army, whose

ranks were chiefly filled with these military saints, as they called themselves, who were principally of the Independent persuasion, was, in the event of peace, which seemed close at hand, threatened either to be sent to Ireland, or disbanded. The discontent among the English soldiery became general; they saw that the use made of the victories, which their valour had mainly contributed to gain, would be to reduce and disarm them, and send out of the kingdom such regiments as might be suffered to retain their arms and military character. And besides the loss of pay, profession, and importance, the sectaries had every reason to apprehend the imposition of the Presbyterian yoke, as they termed the discipline of that church. These mutinous dispositions were secretly encouraged by Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, officers of high rank and influence, to whom the Parliament had intrusted the charge of pacifying them. At length the army assumed the ominous appearance of a separate body in the state, whose affairs were managed by a council of superior officers, with assistance from a committee of persons, called Agitators, being two privates chosen from each company. These bold and unscrupulous men determined to gain possession of the person of the King, and to withdraw him from the power of the Parliament.

In pursuance of this resolution, Joyce, originally a tailor, now a cornet, and a furious agitator for the cause of the army, on the 4th of June, 1647, appeared suddenly at midnight before Holmby House. The troops employed by the Commis-

sioners to guard the King's person, being infected, it may be supposed, with the general feeling of the army, offered no resistance. Joyce, with little ceremony, intruded himself, armed with his pistols, into the King's sleeping apartment, and informed his Majesty that he must please to attend him. "Where is your commission?" said the unfortunate King. "Yonder it is," answered the rude soldier, pointing to his troop of fifty horse, which, by the early dawning, was seen drawn up in the courtyard of the place.—"It is written in legible characters," replied Charles; and without further remonstrance, he prepared to attend the escort.

The King was conducted to Newmarket, and from thence to the palace of Hampton Court; and though in the hands of a body which had no lawful authority or responsible character, he was at first treated with more respect, and even kindness, than he had experienced either from the Scottish army, or from the English Commissioners. The officers distrusted, perhaps, the security of their own power, for they offered a pacification on easy terms. They asked an equal national representation, freely chosen; stipulated that the two Houses of Parliament should enjoy the command of the militia for fourteen years; and even agreed that the order of Bishops should be re-established, but without any temporal power or coercive jurisdiction. So far the terms were more moderate than, from such men and in such a moment, the King could have expected. But on one point the council of officers were rigidly determined; they insisted that seven

of the adherents of Charles, chosen from those who had, with wisdom or with valour, best supported the sinking cause of royalty, should be declared incapable of pardon. Charles was eqnally resolute in resisting this point; his conscience had suffered too deeply on the occasion of Strafford's execution, to which he had yielded in the beginning of these troubles, to permit him ever to be tempted again to abandon a friend.

In the mean time the Parliament was preparing to exert its authority in opposing and checking the unconstitutional power assumed by the army; and the city of London, chiefly composed of Presbyterians, showed a general disposition to stand by the Houses of Legislature. But when that formidable army drew near to London, both Parliament and citizens became intimidated; and the former expelled from their seats the leading Presbyterian members, and suffered the Independents to dictate to the dispirited remainder what measures they judged necessary. Prudence would, at this moment, have strongly recommended to Charles an instant agreement with the army. But the Presbyterians of England had not resigned hopes; and the whole kingdom of Scotland, incensed at the triumph of the Sectaries, and the contumely offered to the Solemn League and Covenant, which had been stigmatized, in the House of Commons, as an almanack out of date, their commissioners made, in private, liberal offers to restore the King by force of arms. In listening to these proposals, Charles flattered himself that he should be able to

hold the balance betwixt the Presbyterians and Independents; but he mistook the spirit of the latter party, from whom this private negotiation did not long remain a secret, and who were highly incensed by the discovery.

The Presbyterians had undertaken the war with professions of profound respect towards the King's person and dignity. They had always protested that they made war against the evil counsellors of the King, but not against his person; and their ordinances, while they were directed against the Malignants, as they termed the Royalists, ran in the King's own name, as well as in that of the two Houses of Parliament, by whose sole authority they were sent forth. The Independents, on the contrary, boldly declared themselves at war with *the Man* Charles, as the abuser of the regal power, and the oppressor of the saints. Cromwell himself avouched such doctrines in open Parliament. He said it was childish to talk of there being no war with the King's person, when Charles appeared in armour, and at the head of his troops in open battle; and that he himself was so far from feeling any scruple on the subject, that he would fire his pistol at the King as readily as at any of his adherents, should he meet him in the fight.

After the discovery of the King's treaty with the Scottish Commissioners, Cromwell, admitting Charles's powers of understanding and reasoning, denounced him as a man of the deepest dissimulation, who had broken faith, by professing an entire reliance on the wisdom of the Parliament, while

by a separate negotiation with the Scottish Commissioners, he was endeavouring to rekindle the flames of civil war between the sister kingdoms. After speaking to this purpose, Cromwell required, and by the now irresistible interest of the Independents he obtained, a declaration from the House, that the Parliament would receive no further applications from Charles, and make no addresses to him in future.

The unfortunate King, while in the power of this uncompromising faction, by whom his authority seemed to be suspended, if not abolished, ought to have been aware, that if he was to succeed in any accommodation with them at all, it could only be by accepting, without delay or hesitation, such terms as they were disposed to allow him. If he could have succeeded in gratifying their principal officers by promises of wealth, rank, and distinction, which were liberally tendered to them,[1] it is probable that their influence might have induced their followers to acquiesce in his restoration, especially if it afforded the means of disconcerting the plans of the Presbyterians. But Charles ought, at the same time, to have reflected, that any appearance of procrastination on his part must give rise to suspicions of his sincerity on the part of the military leaders; and that the Independents, ha-

[1] ["To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that they could reasonably, from their birth or former situation, entertain more ambitious views."—RUSSELL'S *Modern Europe*, vol. iii. p. 354.]

ving once adopted an idea that he was trifling with or deceiving them, had none of that sanctimonious respect for his title, or person, that could prevent his experiencing the utmost rigour.

The Independents and their military council, accordingly, distrusting the sincerity of Charles, and feeling every day the increase of their own power, began to think of establishing it on an entirely different basis from that of monarchy.[1] They withdrew from the King the solemn marks of respect with which he had been hitherto indulged, treated him with neglect and incivility, deprived him of his chaplains, confined his person more closely, doubled the guards upon him, and permitted none to have access to him, but such as possessed their confidence.

Alarmed at these ominous severities, Charles now resolved to escape by flight, and left Hampton Court accordingly. Unhappily, either misled by his attendant or by his own indiscretion, he took refuge in the Isle of Wight, where the governor of Carisbrook castle [Colonel Hammond] was the friend of Cromwell, and a fierce Independent. Here the unfortunate mo-

11th Nov.

[1] ["Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, 'that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the King, or to do any thing towards his restoration,' and they two steered the whole body, and therefore it was advised, 'that some way might be found to remove his Majesty out of their hands.'"—CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, vol. v p. 75.]

narch only fell into a captivity more solitary, more severe, and more comfortless, than any which he had yet experienced. He himself from his window pointed out to Sir Philip Warwick an old grey-headed domestic on the street, who brought in wood to the fire, and observed to him, that the conversation of that menial was the best that he had been suffered to enjoy for months.[1] There is even reason to think his life was aimed at, and that the King was privately encouraged to make an effort to escape from a window in the castle, while a person was placed in readiness to shoot him in the attempt.

The council of war renounced all further communication with Charles; the Parliament, now under the Independent influence, sent down Commissioners to treat, but with preliminary conditions harder than any yet offered to him. Two resources remained to him—the services of the disbanded loyalists, whom his faithful adherents might again summon to arms—but they were dispersed, disarmed, and heart-broken; or the assistance of the Scots—but they were distant and disunited. Yet Charles resolved to try his fortunes on this perilous cast, rather than treat with the Parliament, influenced as it was by the army.

The presence of two Scottish Commissioners,

[1] ["One evening," adds Sir Philip Warwick, "his dog scraping at his door, he commanded me to let in Gipsey; whereupon I took the boldness to say, 'Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than a spaniel;' 'Yes,' says he, 'for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much.'"—*Memoirs*, p. 329.]

who had accompanied those of the Parliament to Carisbrook, enabled Charles to execute a secret treaty with them, by which he agreed to confirm the Solemn League and Covenant, establish Presbytery, at least for a season, and concur in the extirpation of the Sectaries. These articles, if they had been granted while Charles was at Newcastle, would have been sufficient to have prevented the surrender of his person by the Scottish army; but it was the King's unfortunate lot, on this, as on all former occasions, to delay his concessions until they came too late, and were liable to be considered insincere.

When this treaty (which was called the Engagement, because the Commissioners engaged to restore the King by force of arms) was presented to the Scottish Parliament, it was approved by the more moderate part of the Presbyterians, who were led by the Duke of Hamilton, together with his brother the Earl of Lanark, the Lord Chancellor Loudoun, and the Earl of Lauderdale; this last being destined to make a remarkable figure in the next reign. But the majority of the Presbyterian clergy, supported by the more zealous among their hearers, declared that the concessions of the King were totally insufficient to engage Scotland in a new war, as affording no adequate cause for a quarrel with England. This party was headed by the Marquis of Argyle.

I may here mention respecting this nobleman, that after Montrose's army was disbanded, he had taken severe vengeance on the MacDonalds, and

other clans who had assisted in the desolation of Argyleshire. Having the aid of David Lesley, with a body of regular troops, he reduced successively some forts into which Alaster MacDonald (Colkitto) had thrown garrisons, and uniformly put the prisoners to the sword. The MacDougals were almost exterminated in one indiscriminate slaughter, and the Lamonts were put to death in another act of massacre. Sir James Turner, an officer who served under Lesley, lays the blame of these inhumanities on a hard-hearted clergyman called Neaves. David Lesley was disgusted at it, and when, after some such sanguinary execution, he saw his chaplain with his shoes stained with blood, he asked him reproachfully, "Have you enough of it now, Master John?"

These atrocities, by whomever committed, must have been perpetrated in revenge of the sufferings of Argyle and his clan; and to these must be added the death of old Colkitto, the father of Alaster MacDonald, likewise so called, who, being taken in one of these Highland forts, was tried by a jury convened by authority of George Campbell, the Sheriff Substitute of Argyle, from whose sentence we are told very few escaped, and was executed of course.

All these grounds of offence having been given to the Royalists, in a corner of the country where revenge was considered as a duty and a virtue, it is not extraordinary that Argyle should have objected most earnestly to the engagement, which was an enterprise in which the King's interest was to

be defended, with more slender precautions against the influence of the Malignants, or pure Royalists, than seemed consistent with the safety of those who had been most violent against them. Many of the best officers of the late army declined to serve with the new levies, until the Church of Scotland should approve the cause of quarrel. The parliament, however, moved by compassion for their native monarch, and willing to obliterate the disgrace which attached to the surrender of the King at Newcastle, appointed an army to be levied, to act in his behalf. The kingdom was thus thrown into the utmost confusion between the various factions of the Engagers and their opponents. The civil magistrates, obeying the commands of the Parliament, ordered the subjects to assume arms under pain of temporal punishment; while the clergy, from the pulpit, denounced the vengeance of Heaven against those who obeyed the summons.

The Engagers prevailed so far as to raise a tumultuary and ill-disciplined army of about fifteen thousand men, which was commanded by the Duke of Hamilton. This ill-fated nobleman deserved the praise of being a moderate man during all the previous struggles; and, though loving his King, seems uniformly to have endeavoured to reconcile his administration with the rights, and even the prejudices, of his countrymen. But he had little decision of character, and less military skill. While the Scotch were preparing their succours slowly and with hesitation, the English cavaliers, impa-

tient at the danger and captivity of the King, took arms. But their insurrections were so ill connected with each other, that they were crushed successively, save in two cases, where the insurgents made themselves masters of Colchester and Pembroke, in which towns they were instantly besieged.

Hamilton ought to have advanced with all speed to raise the siege of these places; but instead of this, he loitered away more than forty days in Lancashire, until Cromwell came upon him near Warrington, where head and heart seem alike to have failed the unfortunate Duke. Without even an attempt at resistance, he abandoned his enterprise, and made a disorderly retreat, leaving his artillery and baggage. Baillie, with the infantry, being deserted by his general, surrendered to the enemy at Uttoxeter; and Hamilton himself, with the cavalry, took the same deplorable course. None escaped save a resolute body of men under the Earl of Callender, who broke through the enemy, and forced their way back to their own country.

The news of this disaster flew to Scotland. The refractory clergy took the merit of having prophesied the downfall of the Engagers, and stirred up the more zealous Presbyterians to take possession of the government. Argyle drew to arms in the Highlands, whilst the western peasantry assembling, and headed by their divines, repaired to Edinburgh. This insurrection was called the Whigamores' Raid, from the word, *whig, whig*, that is, *get on, get on*, which is used by the western

peasants in driving their horses,—a name destined to become the distinction of a powerful party in British history.

The Earl of Lanark was at the head of some troops on the side of the Engagement, but, afraid of provoking the English, in whose hands his brother Hamilton was a prisoner, he made no material opposition to the Whigamores. Argyle became once more the head of the government. It was during this revolution that Cromwell advanced to the Borders, when, instead of finding any enemies to fight with, he was received by the victorious Whigamores as a friend and brother. Their horror at an army of Sectaries had been entirely overpowered by their far more violent repugnance to unite with Cavaliers and Malignants in behalf of the King. Cromwell, on that occasion, held much intimate correspondence with Argyle; which made it generally believed that the Marquis, in their private conferences, acquiesced in the violent measures which were to be adopted by the successful general against the captive King, whose fate was now decided upon. The unfortunate Marquis always denied this, nor was the charge ever supported by any tangible evidence.

During these military and political transactions, Charles had been engaged in a new treaty with the English Parliament, which was conducted at Newport in the isle of Wight. It was set on foot in consequence of Cromwell's absence with his army, which restored the Parliament to some freedom of debate, and the Presbyterian members to a portion

of their influence. If any thing could have saved that unfortunate Prince, it might have been by accomplishing an agreement with the House of Commons, while Hamilton's army was yet entire, and before the insurrections of the Royalists had been entirely suppressed. But he delayed closing the treaty until the army returned, flushed with victory over the English Cavaliers and Scottish Engagers, and denouncing vengeance on the head of the King, whom they accused of being the sole author of the civil war, and liable to punishment as such. This became the language of the whole party. The pulpits rung with the exhortations of the military preachers, demanding that the King should be given over, as a public enemy, to a public trial.

It was in vain that Charles had at length, with lingering reluctance, yielded every request which the Parliament could demand of him. It was equally in vain that the Parliament had publicly declared that the concessions made by the King were sufficient to form the basis of a satisfactory peace. The army, stirred up by their ambitious officers and fanatic preachers, were resolved that Charles should be put to an open and ignominious death; and a sufficient force of soldiery was stationed in and around London to make resistance impossible, either on the part of the Presbyterians or the Royalists.

In order to secure a majority in the House of Commons, Colonel Pride, a man who had been a brewer, drew up his regiment at the doors of the House of Parliament, and in the streets adjacent,

and secured the persons of upwards of forty members, who, being supposed favourable to reconciliation with the King, were arrested and thrown into prison; above one hundred more were next day excluded. This act of violence was called Pride's Purge. At the same time the House of Lords was shut up. The remainder of the House of Commons, who alone were permitted to sit and vote, were all of the Independent party, and ready to do whatever should be required by the soldiers.[1] This remnant of a Parliament, under the influence of the swords of their own soldiers, proceeded to nominate what was called a High Court of Justice for the trial of King Charles, charged with treason, as they termed it, against the people of England. The Court consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, chosen from the army, the Parliament, and from such of the citizens of London as were well affected to the proposed change of government from a kingdom to a commonwealth. Many of the judges so nominated refused,[2] notwithstanding, to act upon such a commission. Mean time, the great body of the English people beheld these strange preparations with grief and

[1] ["And thus," says Sir Philip Warwick, "both houses soon found of how little value unarmed authority is with an armed army; and they that were late agents are become patients, and are taught, that punishment is the anagram of sin, or may be read in it; for like Adoni-bezek, they that were lately cutting off thumbs and toes, are now the same way losing them."—(See Book of Judges, i. 5, 6, 7.)—*Memoirs of K. Charles I.* 8vo. 1701. P. 300.]

[2] [Not more than seventy usually attended.]

terror. The Scots, broken by the defeat of Hamilton and the success of the Whigamores' Raid, had no means of giving assistance.

Those who drove this procedure forward were of different classes, urged by different motives.

The higher officers of the army, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, seeing they could not retain their influence by concluding a treaty with Charles, had resolved to dethrone and put him to death, in order to establish a military government in their own persons. These men had a distinct aim, and they in some degree attained it. There were others among the Independent party, who thought they had offended the King so far beyond forgiveness, that his deposition and death were necessary for their own safety. The motives of these persons are also within the grasp of common apprehension.

But there were also among the Independent members of Parliament men of a nobler character. There were statesmen who had bewildered themselves with meditating upon theoretical schemes, till they had fancied the possibility of erecting a system of republican government on the foundation of the ancient monarchy of England. Such men, imposed on by a splendid dream of unattainable freedom, imagined that the violence put upon the Parliament by the soldiery, and the death of the King, when it should take place, were but necessary steps to the establishment of this visionary fabric of perfect liberty, like the pulling down of an old edifice to make room for a new building After this fanciful class of politicians, came enthu-

siasts of another and coarser description, influenced by the wild harangues of their crack-brained preachers, who saw in Charles not only the head of the enemies with whom they had been contending for four years with various fortune, but also a wicked King of Amalekites, delivered up to them to be hewn in pieces in the name of Heaven. Such were the various motives which urged the actors in this extraordinary scene.

The pretext by which they coloured these proceedings was, that the King had levied war against his people, to extend over them an unlawful authority. If this had been true in point of fact, it was no ground of charge against Charles in point of law; for the constitution of England declares that the King can do no wrong, that is, cannot be made responsible for any wrong which he does. The vengeance of the laws, when such wrong is committed, is most justly directed against those wicked ministers by whom the culpable measure is contrived, and the agents by whom it is executed. The constitution of England wisely rests on the principle, that if the counsellors and instruments of a prince's pleasure are kept under wholesome terror of the laws, there is no risk of the monarch, in his own unassisted person, transgressing the limits of his authority.[1]

[1] ["Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindsay, applied to the Commons. They represented, that they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master. That in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason,

But in fact the King had not taken arms against the Parliament to gain any *new* and extraordinary extent of power. It is no doubt true, that the Parliament, when summoned together, had many just grievances to complain of; but these were not, in general, innovations of Charles, but such exertions of power as had been customary in the four last reigns, when the crown of England had been freed from the restraint of the barons, without being sufficiently subjected to the control of the House of Commons, representing the people at large. They were, however, very bad precedents; and, since the King had shown a desire to follow them, the Parliament were most justly called upon to resist the repetition of old encroachments upon their liberty. But before the war broke out, the King had relinquished in favour of the Commons all they had demanded. The ultimate cause of quarrel was, which party should have the command of the militia or public force of the kingdom. This was a constitutional part of the King's prerogative; for the executive power cannot be said to exist unless united with the power of the sword. Violence on each side heightened the general want of confidence. The Parliament, as has been before stated, garrisoned,

they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blamable action of the prince; and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing towards the King's safety."—HUME.]

and held out the town of Hull against Charles; and the King infringed the privileges of the Commons, by coming with an armed train to arrest five of their members during the sitting of Parliament. So that the war must be justly imputed to a train of long-protracted quarrels, in which neither party could be termed wholly right, and still less entirely wrong, but which created so much jealousy on both sides as could scarcely terminate otherwise than in civil war.

The High Court of Justice, nevertheless, was opened, and the King was brought to the bar on 19th January, 1649. The soldiers, who crowded the avenues, were taught to cry out for justice upon the royal prisoner. When a bystander, affected by the contrast betwixt the King's present and former condition, could not refrain from saying aloud, "God save your Majesty," he was struck and beaten by the guards around him—"A rude chastisement," said the King, "for so slight an offence." Charles behaved throughout the whole of the trying scene with the utmost dignity. He bore, without complaining, the reproaches of murderer and tyrant, which were showered on him by the riotous soldiery; and when a ruffian spit in his face, the captive monarch wiped it off with his handkerchief, and only said, "Poor creatures! for half a crown they would do the same to their father."

When the deed of accusation, stated to be in the name of the people of England, was read, a voice from one of the galleries exclaimed, "not

the tenth part of them!" Again, as the names of the judges were called over, when that of General Fairfax occurred, the same voice replied, "He has more sense than to be here." Upon the officer who commanded the guard ordering the musketeers to fire into the gallery from which the interruption came, the speaker was discovered to be Lady Fairfax, wife of Sir Thomas, the general of the forces, and a daughter of the noble house of Vere, who in this manner declared her resentment at the extraordinary scene.

The King, when placed at the bar, looked around on the awful preparations for trial, on the bench, crowded with avowed enemies, and displaying, what was still more painful, the faces of one or two ungrateful friends,[1] without losing his steady composure. When the public accuser began to speak, he touched him with his staff, and sternly admonished him to forbear. He afterwards displayed both talent and boldness in his own defence. He disowned the authority of the novel and incompetent court before which he was placed;

[1] [Clarendon says,—"One was Sir Harry Mildmay, master of the King's jewel-house, who had been hred up in the court, and prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by King James and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate. The other was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the King." And adds,—"Nor did that party of miscreants (Cromwell's) look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay."—*History*, vol. v. pp. 255, 256.]

reminded those who sat as his judges, that he was their lawful king, answerable indeed to God for the use of his power, but declared by the constitution incapable of doing wrong. Even if the authority of the people were sufficient to place him before the bar, he denied that such authority had been obtained. The act of violence, he justly stated, was the deed, not of the English nation, but of a few daring men, who had violated, by military force, the freedom of the House of Commons, and altogether destroyed and abolished the House of Peers. He declared that he spoke not for himself, but for the sake of the laws and liberties of England.

Though repeatedly interrupted by Bradshaw, a lawyer, president of the pretended High Court of Justice, Charles pronounced his defence in a manly, yet temperate manner. Being then three times called on to answer to the charge, he as often declined the jurisdiction of the court. Sentence of death was then pronounced, to be executed in front of the royal palace, lately his own.

On the 30th January, 1649, Charles I. was brought forth through one of the windows in front of the banqueting house at Whitehall, upon a large scaffold hung with black, and closely surrounded with guards. Two executioners in masks attended (one wearing a long grey beard), beside a block and cushion. Juxon, a bishop of the Church of England, assisted the King's devotions. As Charles laid his head on the block, he addressed

to the bishop, emphatically, the word *remember*,[1] and then gave the signal for the fatal stroke. One executioner struck the head from the shoulders at a single blow; the other held it up, and proclaimed it the head of a traitor. The soldiers shouted in triumph, but the multitude generally burst out into tears and lamentations.

This tragic spectacle was far from accomplishing the purpose intended by those who had designed it. On the contrary, the King's serene and religious behaviour at his trial and execution excited the sympathy and sorrow of many who had been his enemies when in power; the injustice and brutality which he bore with so much dignity, overpowered the remembrance of the errors of which he had been guilty; and the almost universal sense of the iniquity of his sentence, was a principal cause of the subsequent restoration of his family to the throne.[2]

[1] ["It being remarked that the King, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals vehemently insisted with the prelate that he should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them, that the King, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of the murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies."—HUME.]

[2] [Mr Fox, in his introductory chapter to the "History of the early part of the Reign of James II.," says of King Charles I., —"It must be confessed, however, that if the republican Government had suffered the King to escape, it would have been an

act of *justice and generosity wholly unexampled;* and to have granted him even his life, would have been among the *more rare efforts of virtue*."—P. 14. Sir Walter Scott's copy of Mr Fox's volume has the words in italics underlined, and on the margin this MS. note:—"So this abominable murther, committed by wretches who erected their own usurped domination in place of the legal government, is reckoned among the lesser failings of humanity! One might as well say of the villain who robs a house, that his leaving the owner unmurthered, when that additional horror would add to his safety, is (God bless the mark!) 'one among the rare efforts of virtue.' Fox has infinite sympathy for strong temptation—when on his own side of the question."]

CHAPTER XLVI.

Montrose makes a Descent upon the Highlands, is taken prisoner, and Executed—Charles II., being declared King, arrives in Scotland—Cromwell's Invasion of Scotland—Battle of Dunbar—The Start—Coronation of Charles II.—He takes the Command of the Army, marches into England, is defeated at Worcester, and Escapes abroad—War in Scotland under General Monk—Siege of Dundee—Cromwell makes himself Lord Protector of the Republics of Great Britain and Ireland—Glencairn's Rising—Exploits of Evan Dhu, of Lochiel, Chief of the Camerons.

[1649—1654.]

The death of Charles I. was nowhere more deeply resented than in his native country of Scotland; and the national pride of the Scots was the more hurt, that they could not but be conscious that the surrender of his person by their army at Newcastle, was the event which contributed immediately to place him in the hands of his enemies.

The government, since the Whigamores' Raid, had continued in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians; but even they, no friends to the House of Stewart, were bound by the Covenant, which was their rule in all things, to acknowledge the hereditary descent of their ancient Kings, and

call to the throne Charles, the eldest son of the deceased monarch, providing he would consent to unite with his subjects in taking the Solemn League and Covenant, for the support of Presbytery, and the putting down of all other forms of religion. The Scottish Parliament met, and resolved accordingly to proclaim Charles II. their lawful sovereign; but, at the same time, not to admit him to the actual power as such, until he should give security for the religion, unity, and peace of the kingdoms. Commissioners were sent to wait upon Charles, who had retreated to the Continent, in order to offer him the throne of Scotland on these terms.

The young Prince had already around him counsellors of a different character. The celebrated Marquis of Montrose, and other Scottish nobles, few in number, but animated by their leader's courage and zeal, advised him to reject the proposal of the Presbyterians to recall him to the regal dignity on such conditions, and offered their swords and lives to place him on the throne by force of arms.

It appears that Charles II., who never had any deep sense of integrity, was willing to treat with both of these parties at one and the same time; and that he granted a commission to the Marquis to attempt a descent on Scotland, taking the chance of what might be accomplished by his far-famed fortune and dauntless enterprise, while he kept a negotiation afloat with the Presbyterian commissioners, in case of Montrose's failure.

That intrepid but rash enthusiast embarked at Hamburgh, with some arms and treasure, supplied by the northern courts of Europe. His fame drew around him a few of the emigrant Royalists, chiefly Scottish, and he recruited about six hundred German mercenaries. His first descent was on the Orkney islands, where he forced to arms a few hundreds of unwarlike fishermen. He next disembarked on the mainland; but the natives fled from him, remembering the former excesses of his army. Strachan, an officer under Lesley, came upon the Marquis by surprise, near a pass called Invercharron, on the confines of Ross-shire.[1] The Orkney men made but little resistance; the Germans retired to a wood, and there surrendered; the few Scottish companions of Montrose fought bravely, but in vain. Many gallant cavaliers were made prisoners.[2] Montrose, when

April, 1650.

[1] ["In the parish of Kincardine is Craigchonichen, where the gallant Marquis of Montrose fought his last battle. The ground where the battle was fought took its present name from the event of that memorable day; it may be translated the *Rock of Lamentation*. Its ancient name is still known, though rarely used."—*Statistical Account*, v. iii. pp. 510–11.]

[2] ["There were killed two hundred men, and twelve hundred taken, very few having escaped; for the whole country being in arms, especially the Earl of Sutherland's people, who came not to the fight but to the execution, they killed and took prisoners all that fled. The standard was also taken, which Montrose had caused be made of purpose to move the affections of the people, with the portrait of the late King beheaded, and this motto, *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!*—the standard-bearer being killed, after he had several times refused quarter. Among the prisoners were Colonel Urry, Lord Frendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, Colonel Hay of Naughton, Colonel Gray, with most of the officers, and two ministers."—WISHART, p. 376.]

the day was irretrievably lost, threw off his cloak bearing the star, and afterwards changed clothes with an ordinary Highland kern, that he might endeavour to effect his escape, and swam across the river Kyle. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he was at length taken by a Ross-shire chief, MacLeod of Assint, who happened to be out with a party of his men in arms. The Marquis discovered himself to this man, thinking himself secure of favour, since Assint had been once his own follower. But tempted by a reward of four hundred bolls of meal, this wretched chief delivered his old commander into the unfriendly hands of David Lesley.[1]

The Covenanters, when he who had so often made them tremble was at length delivered into their hands, celebrated their victory with all the exultation of mean, timid, and sullen spirits, suddenly released from apprehension of imminent danger. Montrose was dragged in a sort of triumph from town to town, in the mean garb in which he had disguised himself for flight. To the honour of the town of Dundee, which, you will recollect, had been partly plundered, and partly burnt by Montrose's forces, during his eventful progress in 1645, the citizens of that town were the first who supplied their fallen foe with clothes befitting his rank, with money, and with necessaries. The Marquis himself must have felt this as a severe rebuke for the wasteful mode in which he had carried on his war-

[1] ["Assint was afterwards tried at Edinburgh for his treachery, but by means of bribery and the corrupt influence of the times, he escaped punishment."—WISHART, p. 377.]

fare; and it was a still more piercing reproach to the unworthy victors, who now triumphed over a heroic enemy in the same manner as they would have done over a detected felon.

While Montrose was confined in the house of the Laird of Grange, in Fifeshire, he had almost made his escape through the bold stratagem of the laird's wife, a descendant of the house of Somerville. This lady's address had drenched the guards with liquor; and the Marquis, disguised in female attire, with which she had furnished him, had already passed the sleeping sentinels, when he was challenged and stopped by a half-drunken soldier, who had been rambling about without any duty or purpose. The alarm being given, he was again secured, and the lady's plot was of no avail. She escaped punishment only by her husband's connexion with the ruling party.

Before Montrose reached Edinburgh, he had been condemned by the Parliament to the death of a traitor. The sentence was pronounced, without further trial, upon an act of attainder passed whilst he was plundering Argyle in the winter of 1644; and it was studiously aggravated by every species of infamy.

The Marquis was, according to the special order of Parliament, met at the gates by the magistrates, attended by the common hangman, who was clad for the time in his own livery. He was appointed, as the most infamous mode of execution, to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on the tolbooth, or prison of Edinburgh, his

body to be quartered, and his limbs to be placed over the gates of the principal towns of Scotland. According to the sentence, he was conducted to jail on a cart, whereon was fixed a high bench on which he was placed, bound and bareheaded, the horse led by the executioner, wearing his bonnet, and the noble prisoner exposed to the scorn of the people, who were expected to hoot and revile him. But the rabble, who came out with the rudest purposes, relented when they saw the dignity of his bearing; and silence, accompanied by the sighs and tears of the crowd, attended the progress, which his enemies had designed should excite other emotions.[1] The only observation he made was, that "the ceremonial of his entrance had been somewhat fatiguing and tedious."

He was next brought before the Parliament to hear the terms of his sentence, where he appeared with the same manly indifference. He gazed around on his assembled enemies with as much composure as the most unconcerned spectator; heard Loudoun, the chancellor, upbraid him, in a long and violent declamation, with the breach of both the first and second Covenant; with his cruel wars at the head of the savage Irish and Highlandmen; and with the murders, treasons, and conflagrations, which they had occasioned. When the

[1] ["Wherehy their ministers were so far exasperated and transported with rage and fury at the disappointment, that next day, which was Sunday, they were not ashamed, openly in their sermons, to exclaim against the people for not embracing that opportunity of abusing him."—WISHART, p. 385.]

chancellor had finished, Montrose with difficulty obtained permission to reply.

He told the Parliament, with his usual boldness, that if he appeared before them uncovered, and addressed them with respect, it was only because the King had acknowledged their assembly, by entering into a treaty with them. He admitted he had taken the first, or National Covenant, and had acted upon it so long as it was confined to its proper purposes, but had dissented from and opposed those who had used it as a pretext for assailing the royal authority. "The second, or Solemn League and Covenant," he said, "he had never taken, and was therefore in no respect bound by it. He had made war by the King's express commission; and although it was impossible, in the course of hostilities, absolutely to prevent acts of military violence, he had always disowned and punished such irregularities. He had never," he said, "spilt the blood of a prisoner, even in retaliation of the cold-blooded murder of his officers and friends—nay, he had spared the lives of thousands in the very shock of battle. His last undertaking," he continued, "was carried on at the express command of Charles II., whom they had proclaimed their sovereign, and with whom they were treating as such. Therefore, he desired to be used by them as a man and a Christian, to whom many of them had been indebted for life and property, when the fate of war had placed both in his power. He required them, in conclusion, to proceed with him according to the laws of nature and nations, but especially ac-

cording to those of Scotland, as they themselves would expect to be judged when they stood at the bar of Almighty God."

The sentence already mentioned was then read to the undaunted prisoner, on which he observed, he was more honoured in having his head set on the prison, for the cause in which he died, than he would have been had they decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or in having his picture in the King's bedchamber. As to the distribution of his limbs, he said he wished he had flesh enough to send some to each city of Europe, in memory of the cause in which he died. He spent the night in reducing these ideas into poetry.[1]

Early on the morning of the next day he was awakened by the drums and trumpets calling out the guards, by orders of Parliament, to attend on his execution. "Alas!" he said, "I have given these good folks much trouble while alive, and do I continue to be a terror to them on the day I am to die?"

The clergy importuned him, urging repentance of his sins, and offering, on his expressing such

[1] [The following lines were written with the point of a diamond upon the window of his prison :—

"Let them bestow on every airth[1] a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
Then place my parboil'd head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strew them in the air.
Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thoul't raise me with the just."]

[1] [*Airt*—point of the compass.]

compunction, to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication, under which he laboured. He calmly replied, that though the excommunication had been rashly pronounced, yet it gave him pain, and he desired to be freed from it, if a relaxation could be obtained, by expressing penitence for his offences as a man ; but that he had committed none in his duty to his prince and country, and, therefore, had none to acknowledge or repent of.

Johnstone of Warriston, an eminent Covenanter, intruded himself on the noble prisoner, while he was combing the long curled hair, which he wore as a cavalier. Warriston, a gloomy fanatic, hinted as if it were but an idle employment at so solemn a time. " I will arrange my head as I please today, while it is still my own," answered Montrose ; " to-morrow it will be yours, and you may deal with it as you list."

The marquis walked on foot,[1] from the prison to the Grassmarket, the common place of execution for the basest felons, where a gibbet of extraordinary height, with a scaffold covered with black cloth, were erected. Here he was again pressed by the Presbyterian clergy to own his guilt. Their

[1] [" About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought from the prison to the place of execution, dressed in a scarlet cloak trimmed with gold lace ; he walked along the street with such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shaked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him ; and extorted even from his enemies their unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced."—WISHART, p. 394.]

cruel and illiberal officiousness could not disturb the serenity of his temper. To exaggerate the infamy of his punishment, or rather to show the mean spite of his enemies, a book, containing the printed history of his exploits, was hung around his neck by the hangman. This insult, likewise, he treated with contempt, saying, he accounted such a record of his services to his prince as a symbol equally honourable with the badge of the Garter, which the King had bestowed on him. In all other particulars, Montrose bore himself with the same calm dignity, and finally submitted to execution with such resolved courage, that many, even of his bitterest enemies, wept on the occasion. He suffered on the 21st of May, 1650.

Argyle, the mortal foe of Montrose, exulted in private over the death of his enemy, but abstained from appearing in Parliament when he was condemned, and from witnessing his execution. He is even said to have shed tears when he heard the scene rehearsed. His son, Lord Lorn, was less scrupulous; he looked on his feudal enemy's last moments, and even watched the blows of the executioner's axe, while he dissevered the head from the body. His cruelty was requited in the subsequent reign; and indeed Heaven soon after made manifest the folly, as well as guilt, which destroyed this celebrated commander, at a time when approaching war might have rendered his talents invaluable to his country.

Other noble Scottish blood was spilt at the same time, both at home and in England. The Mar-

quis of Huntly, who had always acted for the King, though he had injured his affairs by his hesitation to co-operate with Montrose, was beheaded at Edinburgh; and Urry,[1] who had been sometimes the enemy, sometimes the follower of Montrose, was executed with others of the Marquis's principal followers.

The unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, a man of a gentle but indecisive character, was taken, as I have told you, in his attempt to invade England and deliver the King, whom he seems to have served with fidelity, though he fell under his suspicion, and even suffered a long imprisonment by the royal order. While he was confined at Windsor, Charles, previous to his trial, was brought there by the soldiers. The dethroned King was permitted a momentary interview with the subject, who had lost fortune and liberty in his cause. Hamilton burst into tears, and flung himself at the King's feet, exclaiming, "My dear master!"—"I have been a *dear* master to you indeed," said Charles, kindly raising him. After the execution of the King, Hamilton, with the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, and others, who had promoted the rising of the royalists on different points, were condemned to be beheaded. A stout old cavalier, Sir John Owen, was one of the number. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed it was a great honour to a poor Welsh knight to be beheaded with so many

[1] ["A man," says Wishart, "who had engaged in all quarrels, but never prospered in any."—P. 371.]

nobles, adding, with an oath, "I thought they would have hanged me." This gallant old man's life was spared, when his companions in misfortune were executed.[1]

While these bloody scenes were proceeding, the Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament continued to carry on the treaty with Charles II. He had nearly broken it off, when Montrose's execution was reported to him; but a sense of his own duplicity in maintaining a treaty with the Parliament, while he gave Montrose a commission to invade and make war on them, smothered his complaints on the subject. At length Charles, seeing no other resource, agreed to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered, which were those of the most absolute compliance with the will of the Scottish Parliament in civil affairs, and with the

[1] ["Sir John answered them without any application, 'that he was a plain gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught to obey the King; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the High Sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided had he staid at home;' and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him."—CLARENDON, vol. v. p. 267.—"Ireton told them, 'there had been great endeavours and solicitations used to save all those lords; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore, he desired that Sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself;' which found little opposition; whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them."—*Ibid.* p. 271.]

pleasure of the General Assembly of the Kirk in ecclesiastical concerns. Above all, the young King promised to take upon him the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, and to further them by every means in his power. On these conditions the treaty was concluded; Charles sailed from Holland, and arriving on the coast of Scotland, landed near the mouth of the river Spey, and advanced to Stirling. 16th June, 1650.

Scotland was at this time divided into three parties, highly inimical to each other. There was, FIRST, the rigid Presbyterians, of whom Argyle was the leader. This was the faction which had, since the Whigamores' Raid, been in possession of the supreme power of government, and with its leaders the King had made the treaty in Holland. SECONDLY, the moderate Presbyterians, called the Engagers, who had joined with Hamilton in his incursion into England. These were headed by the Earl of Lanark, who succeeded to the dukedom of Hamilton on the execution of his brother; by Lauderdale, a man of very considerable talents; Dunfermline and others. THIRDLY, there was the party of the Absolute Loyalists, friends and followers of Montrose; such as the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Ogilvy, a few other nobles and gentlemen, and some Highland chiefs, too ignorant and too remotely situated to have any influence in state affairs.

As all these three parties acknowledged, with more or less warmth, the sovereignty of King Charles, it might have seemed no very difficult

matter to have united them in the same patriotic purpose of maintaining the national independence of the kingdom. But successful resistance to the English was a task to which the high Presbyterians, being the ruling party, thought themselves perfectly competent. Indeed they entertained the most presumptuous confidence in their own strength, and their clergy assured them, that so far from the aid of either Engagers or Malignants being profitable to them in the common defence, the presence of any such profane assistants would draw down the curse of Heaven on the cause, which, if trusted to the hands of true Covenanters only, could not fail to prosper.

Argyle, therefore, and his friends, received the young King with all the outward marks of profound respect. But they took care to give him his own will in no one particular. They excluded from attendance on his person all his English adherents, suspicious of their attachment to Prelacy and malignant opinions. The ministers beset him with exhortations and sermons of immoderate length, introduced on all occasions, and exhausting the patience of a young prince, whose strong sense of the ridiculous, and impatience of serious subjects, led him to receive with heartfelt contempt and disgust the homely eloquence of the long-winded orators. The preachers also gave him offence, by choosing frequently for their themes the sins of his father, the idolatry of his mother, who was a Catholic, and what they frankly termed his own ill-disguised disposition to malignity. They

numbered up the judgments which, they affirmed, these sins had brought on his father's house, and they prayed that they might not be followed by similar punishments upon Charles himself.[1] These ill-timed and ill-judged admonitions were so often repeated, as to impress on the young King's mind a feeling of dislike and disgust, with which he remembered the Presbyterian preachers and their doctrines as long as he lived.[2]

Sometimes their fanaticism and want of judgment led to ridiculous scenes. It is said, that on one occasion a devout lady, who lived opposite to the royal lodgings, saw from her window the young King engaged in a game at cards, or some other frivolous amusement, which the rigour of the Covenanters denounced as sinful. The lady communicated this important discovery to her minister,

[1] ["Not contented with the contumelies they had heaped upon their Sovereign, they prepared for him a scene of still greater indignity. Nothing now would satisfy the clergy, but that the King should do public penance before the whole land. The General Assembly drew up twelve articles, in which they mustered all the pretended sins of his Majesty, and his predecessors, for four generations back; and for these they ordained, that the King, his household, and the whole land, should do solemn and public penance; an event, however, happened (the battle of Dunbar), which saved him from that disgrace."—SIR EDWARD WALKER, apud ARNOT's *History of Edinburgh*, 4to, p. 133.]

[2] ["The gloomy austerity of the preachers," says Dr Cook, "which cast its influence over social enjoyment, and branded his levity with a sternness little calculcated to conciliate, or to amend, disgusted Charles at those whom he should have laboured to gain, and *strengthened that indifference to religion and that proneness to dissipation* by which his whole life was unhappily distinguished."—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 191.]

and it reached the ears of the Commission of the Kirk, who named a venerable member of their body to rebuke the monarch personally for this act of backsliding. The clergyman to whom this delicate commission was intrusted, was a shrewd old man, who saw no great wisdom in the proceedings of his brethren, but executed their commands with courtly dexterity, and summed up his ghostly admonition with a request, that when his Majesty indulged in similar recreations, he would be pleased to take the precaution of shutting the windows. The King laughed, and was glad to escape so well from the apprehended lecture. But events were fast approaching which had no jesting aspect.

England, to which you must now turn your attention, had totally changed its outward constitution since the death of the King. Cromwell, who, using the victorious army as his tools, was already in the real possession of the supreme power, had still more tasks than one to accomplish, before he dared venture to assume the external appearance of it. He suffered, therefore, the diminished and mutilated House of Commons to exist for a season, during which the philosophical Republicans of the party passed resolutions that monarchy should never be again established in England; that the power of the Executive Government should be lodged in a Council of State; and that the House of Lords should be abolished.

Meantime, Cromwell led in person a part of his victorious army to Ireland, which had been the scene of more frightful disorders than England, or

even Scotland. These had begun by the Catholic inhabitants rising upon the Protestants, and murdering many thousands of them in what is termed the Irish Massacre. This had been followed by a general war between the opposite parties in religion, but at length the address of the Duke of Ormond, as devoted a loyalist as Montrose, contrived to engage a large portion of the Catholics on the side of Charles; and Ireland became the place of refuge to all the Cavaliers, or remains of the royal party, who began to assume a formidable appearance in that island. The arrival of Cromwell suddenly changed this gleam of fortune into cloud and storm. Wherever this fated general appeared he was victorious; and in Ireland, in order perhaps to strike terror into a fierce people (for Oliver Cromwell was not bloodthirsty by disposition), he made dreadful execution among the vanquished, particularly at the storming of the town of Drogheda, where his troops spared neither sex nor age. He now returned to England, with even greater terror attached to his name than before.

The new Commonwealth of England had no intention that the son of the King whom they had put to death, should be suffered to establish himself quietly in the sister kingdom of Scotland, and enjoy the power, when opportunity offered, of again calling to arms his numerous adherents in England, and disturbing, or perhaps destroying, their new-modelled republic. They were resolved to prevent this danger by making war on Scotland, while still weakened by her domestic dissensions;

and compelling her to adopt the constitution of a republic, and to become confederated with their own. This proposal was of course haughtily rejected by the Scots, as it implied a renunciation at once of king and kirk, and a total alteration of the Scottish constitution in civil and ecclesiastical government. The ruling parties of both nations, therefore, prepared for the contest.

The rigid Presbyterians in Scotland showed now a double anxiety to exclude from their army all, however otherwise well qualified to assist in such a crisis, whom they regarded as suspicious, whether as absolute malignants, or as approaching nearer to their own doctrines, by professing only a moderate and tolerant attachment to Presbytery.

Yet even without the assistance of these excluded parties, the Convention of Estates assembled a fine army, full of men enthusiastic in the cause in which they were about to fight; and feeling all the impulse which could be given by the rude eloquence of their favourite ministers. Unfortunately the preachers were not disposed to limit themselves to the task of animating the courage of the soldiers; but were so presumptuous as to interfere with and control the plans of the general, and movements of the army.

The army of England, consisting almost entirely of Independents, amongst whom any man who chose might exert the office of a clergyman, resembled the Presbyterian troops of Scotland; for both armies professed to appeal to Heaven for the justice of their cause, and both resounded with

psalms, prayers, exhortations, and religious exercises, to confirm the faith, and animate the zeal of the soldiers. Both likewise used the same language in their proclamations against each other, and it was such as implied a war rather on account of religion than of temporal interests. The Scottish proclamations declared the army commanded by Cromwell to be a union of the most perverse heretical sectaries, of every different persuasion, agreeing in nothing, saving their desire to effect the ruin of the unity and discipline of the Christian Church, and the destruction of the Covenant, to which most of their leaders had sworn fidelity. The army of Cromwell replied to them in the same style. They declared that they valued the Christian Church ten thousand times more than their own lives. They protested that they were not only a rod of iron to dash asunder the common enemies, but a hedge (though unworthy) about the divine vineyard. As for the Covenant, they protested that, were it not for making it an object of idolatry, they would be content, if called upon to encounter the Scots in this quarrel, to place that national engagement on the point of their pikes, and let God himself judge whether they or their opponents had best observed its obligations.

Although the contending nations thus nearly resembled each other in their ideas and language, there was betwixt the Scottish and English soldiers one difference, and it proved a material one. In the English army the officers insisted upon being preachers, and though their doctrine was wild

enough, their ignorance of theology had no effect on military events. But with the Scots, the Presbyterian clergy were unhappily seized with the opposite rage of acting as officers and generals, and their skill in their own profession of divinity could not redeem the errors which they committed in the art of war.

Fairfax having declined the command of the English army, his conscience (for he was a Presbyterian) not permitting him to engage in the war, Cromwell accepted with joy the supreme military authority, and prepared for the invasion of Scotland.

The wars between the sister kingdoms seemed now about to be rekindled, after the interval of two-thirds of a century; and notwithstanding the greatly superior power of England, there was no room for absolute confidence in her ultimate success. The Scots, though divided into parties, so far as church government was concerned, were unanimous in acknowledging the right of King Charles, whereas the English were far from making common cause against his claims. On the contrary, if the stern army of Sectaries, now about to take the field, should sustain any great disaster, the Cavaliers of England, with great part of the Presbyterians in that country, were alike disposed to put the King once more at the head of the government; so that the fate not of Scotland alone, but of England also, was committed to the event of the present war.

Neither were the armies and generals opposed to

each other unworthy of the struggle. If the army of Cromwell consisted of veteran soldiers, inured to constant victory, that of Scotland was fresh, numerous, and masters of their own strong country, which was the destined scene of action. If Cromwell had defeated the most celebrated generals of the Cavaliers, David Lesley, the effective commander-in-chief in Scotland, had been victor over Montrose, more renowned perhaps than any of them. If Cromwell was a general of the most decisive character, celebrated for the battles which he had won, Lesley was, by early education, a trained soldier, more skilful than his antagonist in taking positions, defending passes, and all the previous arrangements of a campaign. With these advantages on the different sides, the eventful struggle commenced.

Early in the summer of 1650, Cromwell invaded Scotland at the head of his veteran and well-disciplined troops. But, on marching through Berwickshire and East Lothian, he found that the country was abandoned by the population, and stripped of every thing which could supply the hostile army. Nothing was to be seen save old spectre-looking women, clothed in white flannel, who told the English officers that all the men had taken arms, under command of the barons.

Subsisting chiefly on the provisions supplied by a fleet, which, sailing along the coast, accompanied his movements, the English general approached the capital, where Lesley had settled his headquarters. The right wing of the Scottish

army rested upon the high grounds at the rise of the mountain called Arthur's Seat, and the left wing was posted at Leith; while the high bank, formerly called Leith Walk, made a part of his lines, which, defended by a numerous artillery, completely protected the metropolis. Cromwell skirmished with the Scottish advanced posts near to Restalrig, but his cuirassiers were so warmly encountered that they gained no advantage, and their general was obliged to withdraw to Musselburgh. His next effort was made from the westward.

The English army made a circuit from the coast, proceeding inland to Colinton, Redhall, and other places near to the eastern extremity of the Pentland hills, from which Cromwell hoped to advance on Edinburgh. But Lesley was immediately on his guard. He left his position betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, and took one which covered the city to the westward, and was protected by the Water of Leith, and the several cuts, drains, and mill-leads, at Saughton, Coltbridge, and the houses and villages in that quarter. Here Cromwell again found the Scots in order of battle, and again was obliged to withdraw after a distant cannonade.

The necessity of returning to the neighbourhood of his fleet, obliged Cromwell to march back to his encampment at Musselburgh. Nor was he permitted to remain there in quiet. At the dead of night, a strong body of cavalry, called the regiment of the Kirk, well armed at all points, broke into the English lines, with loud cries of "God

and the Kirk! all is ours!" It was with some difficulty that Cromwell rallied his soldiers upon this sudden alarm, in which he sustained considerable loss, though the assailants were finally compelled to retreat.

The situation of the English army now became critical; their provisions were nearly exhausted, the communication with the fleet grew daily more precarious, while Lesley, with the same prudence which had hitherto guided his defence, baffled all the schemes of the English leader, without exposing his army to the risk of a general action; until Cromwell, fairly outgeneralled by the address of his enemy, was compelled to retire towards England.

Lesley, on his part, left his encampment without delay, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the English. Moving by a shorter line than Cromwell, who was obliged to keep the coast, he took possession with his army of the skirts of Lammermoor, a ridge of hills terminating on the sea near the town of Dunbar, abounding with difficult passes, all of which he occupied strongly. Here he proposed to await the attack of the English, with every chance, nay, almost with the certainty, of gaining a great and decisive victory.

Cromwell was reduced to much perplexity. To force his way, it was necessary to attack a tremendous pass called Cockburn's path,[1] where, according

[1] [The pass of Cockburn's path is situated in the parish, and a little eastward of the village of the same name, formerly called *Coldbrand s path*, about eight miles east of Dunbar. The pass,

to Cromwell's own description, one man might do more to defend than twelve to make way. And if he engaged in this desperate enterprise, he was liable to be assaulted by the numerous forces of Lesley in flank and rear. He saw all the danger, and entertained thoughts of embarking his foot on board of his ships, and cutting his own way to England as he best could, at the head of his cavalry.

At this moment, the interference of the Presbyterian preachers, and the influence which they possessed over the Scottish army and its general, ruined this fair promise of success. In spite of all the prudent remonstrances of Lesley, they insisted that the Scottish army should be led from their strong position, to attack the English upon equal ground. This, in the language of scripture, they called going down against the Philistines at Gilgal.

Cromwell had slept at the Duke of Roxburghe's house, called Broxmouth, within half a mile east of Dunbar, and his army was stationed in the park there, when he received news that the Scots were leaving their fastnesses, and about to hazard a battle on the level plain. He exclaimed, "that

issuing from betwixt the Lammermoor hills, extends along a deep ravine or chasm to the sea-shore. Over this ravine, about fifty years ago, there was erected a bridge of three hundred feet in length, in height one hundred and twenty-three feet, called the Pease or Peaths bridge. It is said to be the highest in the world, and its romantic site constantly attracts the admirers of the picturesque. See an engraving of it in GROSE's *Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 94.]

God had delivered them into his hands;" and calling for his horse, placed himself at the head of his troops. Coming to the head of a regiment of Lancashire men, he found one of their officers, while they were in the act of marching to battle, in a fit of sudden enthusiasm holding forth or preaching to the men. Cromwell also listened, and seemed affected by his discourse. At this moment the sun showed his broad orb on the level surface of the sea, which is close to the scene of action. "Let the Lord arise," he said, "and let his enemies be scattered;" and presently after, looking upon the field where the battle had now commenced, he added, "I profess they flee."

Cromwell's hopes did not deceive him. The hastily raised Scottish levies, thus presumptuously opposed to the veteran soldiers of the English commander, proved unequal to stand the shock. Two regiments fought bravely, and were almost all cut off; but the greater part of Lesley's army fell into confusion without much resistance. Great slaughter ensued, and many prisoners were made, whom the cruelty of the English government destined to a fate hitherto unknown in Christian warfare. They transported to the English settlements in America those unfortunate captives, subjects of an independent kingdom, who bore arms by order of their own lawful government, and there sold them for slaves. 3d Sept.

The decisive defeat at Dunbar opened the whole of the south of Scotland to Cromwell. The Independents found a few friends and brother sectaries

among the gentry, who had been hitherto deterred, by the fear of the Presbyterians, from making their opinions public. Almost all the strong places on the south side of the Forth were won by the arms of the English, or yielded by the timidity of their defenders. Edinburgh Castle was surrendered, not without suspicion of gross treachery; and Tantallon, Hume, Roslin, and Borthwick, with other fortresses, fell into their hands.

Internal dissension added to the calamitous state of Scotland. The Committee of Estates, with the King, and the remainder of Lesley's army, retreated to Stirling, where they still hoped to make a stand, by defending the passes of the Forth. A Parliament, held at Perth, was in this extremity disposed to relax in the extreme rigour of its exclusive doctrines, and to admit into the army, which it laboured to reinforce, such of the moderate Presbyterians, or Engagers, and even of the Royalists and Malignants, as were inclined to make a formal confession of their former errors. The Royalists readily enough complied with this requisition; but as their pretended repentance was generally regarded as a mere farce, submitted to that they might obtain leave to bear arms for the King, the stricter Presbyterians looked upon this compromise with Malignants as a sinful seeking for help from Egypt. The Presbyterians of the western counties, in particular, carried this opinion so far, as to think this period of national distress an auspicious time for disclaiming the King's interest and title. Refusing to allow that

the victory of Dunbar was owing to the military skill of Cromwell and the disciplined valour of his troops, they set it down as a chastisement justly inflicted on the Scottish nation for espousing the royal cause. Under this separate banner there assembled an army of about four thousand men, commanded by Kerr and Strachan. They were resolved, at the same time, to oppose the English invasion, and to fight with the King's forces, and thus embroil the kingdom in a threefold war. The leaders of this third party, who were called Remonstrators, made a smart attack on a large body of English troops, stationed in Hamilton under General Lambert, and were at first successful; but falling into disorder, owing to their very success, they were ultimately defeated. Kerr, one of their leaders, was wounded, and made prisoner; and Strachan soon afterwards revolted, and joined the English army.

Cromwell, in the mean while, made the fairest promises to all who would listen to him, and laboured, not altogether in vain, to impress the rigid Presbyterian party with a belief, that they had better join with the Independents, although disallowing of church-government, and thus obtain peace and a close alliance with England, than adhere to the cause of the King, who, with his father's house, had, he said, been so long the troublers of Israel. And here I may interrupt the course of public events, to tell you an anecdote not generally known, but curious as illustrating the character of Cromwell.

Shortly after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell visited Glasgow; and on Sunday attended the Presbyterian service in the principal church of that city. The preacher, a rigid Presbyterian, was nothing intimidated by the presence of the English general; but entering freely upon state affairs, which were then a common topic in the pulpit, he preached boldly on the errors and heresies of the Independent sectaries, insisted on the duty of resisting their doctrines, and even spoke with little respect of the person of Cromwell himself. An officer who sat behind Cromwell, whispered something in his ear more than once, and the general as often seemed to impose silence upon him. The curiosity of the congregation was strongly excited. At length the service was ended, and Cromwell was in the act of leaving the church, when he cast his eyes on one Wilson, a mechanic, who had long resided at Glasgow, and called on him by name. The man no sooner saw the general take notice of him than he ran away. Cromwell directed that he should be followed and brought before him, but without injury. At the same time he sent a civil message to the clergyman who had preached, desiring to see him at his quarters. These things augmented the curiosity of the town's people; and when they saw Wilson led as prisoner to the general's apartments, many remained about the door, watching the result. Wilson soon returned, and joyfully showed his acquaintances some money which the English general had given him to drink his health. His business with Cromwell was easily

explained. This man had been son of a footman who had attended James VI. to England. By some accident Wilson had served his apprenticeship to a shoemaker in the same town where Cromwell's father lived, had often played with Master Oliver while they were both children, and had obliged him by making balls and other playthings for him. When Wilson saw that his old companion recognised him, he ran away, because, recollecting his father had been a servant of the royal family, he thought the general, who was known to have brought the late King to the block, might nourish ill-will against all who were connected with him. But Cromwell had received him kindly, spoken of their childish acquaintance, and gave him some money. The familiarity with which he seemed to treat him, encouraged Wilson to ask his former friend what it was that passed betwixt the officer and him, when the preacher was thundering from the pulpit against the sectaries and their general. "He called the clergyman an insolent rascal," said Cromwell, not unwilling, perhaps, that his forbearance should be made public, "and asked my leave to pull him out of the pulpit by the ears; and I commanded him to sit still, telling him the minister was one fool, and he another." This anecdote serves to show Cromwell's recollection of persons and faces. He next gave audience to the preacher, and used arguments with him which did not reach the public; but were so convincing, that the minister pronounced a second discourse in the

evening, in a tone much mitigated towards Independency and its professors.

While the south of Scotland was overawed, and the Western Remonstrators were dispersed by Cromwell, the Scottish Parliament, though retired beyond the Forth, still maintained a show of decided opposition. They resolved upon the coronation of Charles, a ceremony hitherto deferred, but which they determined now to perform, as a solemn pledge of their resolution to support the constitution and religion of Scotland to the last.

But the melancholy solemnity had been nearly prevented by the absence of the principal personage. Charles, disgusted with the invectives of the Presbyterian clergy, and perhaps remembering the fate of his father at Newcastle, formed a hasty purpose of flying from the Presbyterian camp. He had not been sufficiently aware of the weakness of the Royalists, who recommended this wild step, and he actually went off to the hills. But he found only a few Highlanders at Clova,[1] without the appearance of an army, which he had promised himself, and was easily induced to return to the camp with a party who had been despatched in pursuit of him.

This excursion, which was called the *Start*, did

[1] [The village of Clova is situated in the northern extremity of Forfarshire, near to the source of the South Esk, in a glen of the Grampians, along which that river flows in a south-eastward direction for upwards of ten miles, issuing at length into a more open course in the romantic vicinity of Cortachy Castle, a seat of the Earl of Airly.]

not greatly tend to increase confidence betwixt the young King and his Presbyterian counsellors. The ceremony of the coronation was performed with such solemnities as the time admitted, but mingled with circumstances which must have been highly disgusting to Charles. The confirmation of the Covenant was introduced as an essential part of the solemnity; and the coronation was preceded by a national fast and humiliation, expressly held on account of the sins of the Royal Family. A suspected hand, that of the Marquis of Argyle, placed an insecure crown on the head of the son,[1] whose father he had been one of the principal instruments in dethroning. 1st January, 1651.

These were bad omens. But, on the other hand, the King enjoyed more liberty than before; most of the Engagers had resumed their seats in Parliament; and many Royalist officers were received into the army.

Determined at this time not to be tempted to a disadvantageous battle, the King, who assumed the command of the army in person, took up a line in front of Stirling, having in his front the river of

[1] ["Upon that occasion," says Sir Walter Scott, "the King, clad in a prince's robe, walked in procession from the hall of the palace to the church, the spurs, sword of state, sceptre and crown being carried before him by the principal nobility. It was remarkable, that upon this occasion the crown was borne by the unhappy Marquis of Argyle, who was put to death in no very legal manner immediately after the Restoration, using upon the scaffold these remarkable words, 'I placed the crown on the King's head, and in reward he brings mine to the block.'"—See *Regalia of Scotland, ante,* vol. vii., pp. 309–313.]

Carron. Cromwell approached, but could neither with prudence attack the Scots in their lines, nor find means of inducing them to hazard a battle, unless on great advantage. After the armies had confronted each other for more than a month, Cromwell despatched Colonel Overton into Fife, to turn the left flank of the Scottish army, and intercept their supplies. He was encountered near the town of Inverkeithing by the Scots, commanded by Holborn and Brown. The first of these officers behaved basely, and perhaps treacherously. Brown fought well and bravely, but finally sustaining a total defeat, was made prisoner, and afterwards died of grief.

The situation of the main Scottish army, under Charles in person, became hazardous after this defeat, for their position was rendered precarious by the footing which the English obtained in the counties of Fife and Kinross, which enabled them to intercept the King's supplies and communications from the north. In this distressed situation Charles adopted a bold and decisive measure. He resolved to transfer the war from Scotland to England, and, suddenly raising his camp, he moved to the south-westward by rapid marches, hoping to rouse his friends in England to arms, before Cromwell could overtake him. But the Cavaliers of England were now broken and dispirited, and were, besides, altogether unprepared for this hasty invasion, which seemed rather the effect of despair than the result of deliberate and settled resolution. The Presbyterians, though rather inclined to the Royal

cause, were still less disposed to hazard a junction with him, until terms of mutual accommodation could be settled. They were divided and uncertain, while the republicans were resolved and active.

The English militia assembled under Lambert to oppose Charles in front, and Cromwell followed close in his rear, to take every advantage that could offer. The Scots reached without much opposition the city of Worcester, where the militia, commanded by Lambert, and the regular forces under Cromwell, attacked the Royalists with double the number of their forces. Clarendon and other English authors represent the Scottish army as making little resistance. Cromwell, on the contrary, talks of the battle of Worcester, in his peculiar phraseology, as "a stiff business—a very glorious mercy—as stiff a contest as he had ever beheld." But, well or ill disputed, the day was totally lost. Three thousand men were slain in the field, ten thousand were taken, and such of them as survived their wounds, and the horrors of overcrowded jails, were shipped off to the plantations as slaves.

3d Sept. 1651.

Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and having given sufficient proofs of personal valour, escaped from the field, and concealed himself in obscure retreats, under various disguises. At one time he was obliged to hide himself in the boughs of a spreading oak-tree; hence called the Royal Oak. At another time he rode before a lady, Mrs Lane, in the quality of a groom; and in this dis-

guise passed through a part of the Parliament forces. After infinite fatigue, many romantic adventures, and the most imminent risk of discovery, he at length escaped by sea,[1] and for eight years continued to wander from one foreign court to another, a poor, neglected, and insulted adventurer, the claimant of thrones which he seemed destined never to possess.

The defeat at Worcester was a deathblow to the resistance of the King's party in Scotland. The Parliament, driven from Stirling to the Highlands, endeavoured in vain to assemble new forces. The English troops, after Cromwell's departure, were placed under the command of General Monk, who now began to make a remarkable figure in those

[1] [Previous to finding a vessel for embarkment, which he at last did at the then obscure fishing village of *Brighthelmstone*, Charles had wandered about, in various disguises, or lain in concealment, during a period of five-and-forty days, in which the secret of his life had been intrusted to fifty persons. A report of his death being generally credited, at length happily relaxed the search of his enemies. "It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times," says Clarendon, "that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in these sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions; so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, but upon conference with their friends, could choose fit houses at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the kingdom to another, without trusting the hospitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the persons with whom they were at any time could conduct them to another house of the same affection."—*History*, vol. vi. p. 418. See CLARENDON, vol. vi. pp. 410–426—and *Account of the Preservation of Charles after the battle of Worcester*, drawn up by himself, published by Lord Hailes, 8vo, 1766.]

times. He was a gentleman of good birth, had been in arms for the King's service, but being made prisoner, had finally embraced the party of the Parliament, and fought for them in Ireland. He was accounted a brave and skilful commander, totally free from the spirit of fanaticism so general in the army of Cromwell, and a man of deep sagacity, and a cold reserved temper. Under Monk's conduct, seconded by that of Overton, Alured, and other parliamentary officers, the cities, castles, and fortresses of Scotland were reduced one after another. The partial resistance of the wealthy seaport of Dundee, in particular, was punished with the extremities of fire and sword, so that Montrose, Aberdeen, and St Andrews became terrified, and surrendered without opposition.[1] 1st Sept. 1651.

[1] ["The loss of people in the siege by Monk, and especially on the carnage at the storming of Dundee, appears to bave been very great, and cannot be estimated at much less than a sixth part of the whole inhabitants. In tbis destruction many strangers were involved, those especially who appeared as defenders of the town. Tbe governor, Lumsden, of tbe family of Invergally in Fife, is said, on the irruption of the English, to have taken possession of the great steeple; and being soon after obliged to surrender at discretion, he and all with him were massacred in tbe churchyard. In the same place also the two battalions of Lord Duffus' regiment are said to have been slaughtered, and another body suffered the like fate in the square called the Fish Market. No unusual provocation appears to have been given for tbis severity. On the contrary, Mr Gumble, General Monk's chaplain and biographer, speaks in bigh terms of the governor for his gallant and brave defence. His bead was, notwithstanding, cut off, and fixed upon a spike in one of the abutments of the south-west corner of the steeple: and till a few years ago, when the stone wbere the spike was inserted fell down, tbe remains of it

The castle of Dunottar, in Kincardineshire, the hereditary fortress of the Earls Marischal, made an honourable defence under George Ogilvy of Barras. It is situated upon a rock, almost separated from the land by a deep ravine on the one side, and overhanging the ocean on the other.[1] In this strong fortress the Honours of Scotland, as they were called, had been deposited after the battle of Dunbar. These were the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the symbols of Scottish sovereignty, which were regarded by the nation with peculiar veneration. The terror was great lest pledges, with which the national honour was so intimately connected, should fall into the hands of foreign schismatics and republicans. On the other hand, the English, ardently desirous to possess themselves of these trophies (the rather that they had formed a disproportioned idea of their intrinsic value), besieged the castle closely, and blockaded it by sea and land. As their provisions began to fail, the governor foresaw that further defence must speedily become impossible; and, with the assistance of Mr Granger, minister of Kinneff, he formed a stratagem for securing the ancient and venerable *regalia* from the dishonour which threatened them. The first preparation was to spread a

were observable. The same indignity appears also to have been done to others. It is a tradition here, that the carnage did not cease till the third day, when a child was seen in a lane, called the Thorter Row, sucking its murdered mother."—Dr SMALL, *Statistical Account* (1793), vol. viii. p. 209–212.]

[1] [On the eastern coast, nigh to the town of Stonehaven, and seventeen miles south of Aberdeen.]

report, that these national treasures had been carried abroad by Sir John Keith, a younger son of the Earl Marischal, ancestor of the family of Kintore. Mrs Granger, the minister's wife, was the principal agent in the subsequent part of the scheme. Having obtained of the English general the permission to bring out of the castle, some *hards* (or bundles) of lint, which she said was her property, she had the courage and address to conceal the regalia within the hards of lint, and carried them boldly through the English camp, at the risk of much ill usage, had she been discovered in an attempt to deprive the greedy soldiery of their prey. Mrs Granger played her part so boldly, that she imposed on the general himself, who courteously saluted her, and helped her to mount on horseback as she left the encampment, little guessing with what a valuable part of his expected booty she was loaded. Arriving with her precious charge at Kinneff, the minister buried the relics of royalty under the pulpit of his church, and visited them from time to time, in order to wrap them in fresh packages, and preserve them from injury. Suspicion attached to the Governor of Dunottar; and when the castle was finally surrendered, for want of provisions, he was rigorously dealt with, imprisoned, and even tortured, to make him discover where the regalia were concealed. His lady, who had been active in the stratagem, was subjected to similar severities, as were also the minister of Kinneff and his courageous spouse. All, however, persisted in keeping the secret. Rewards were distributed, after the

Restoration, to those who had been concerned in saving the Honours, but they do not appear to have been very accurately accommodated to the merits of the parties. Sir John Keith, whose name had only been used in the transaction as a blind, to put the English on a wrong scent, was created Earl of Kintore, and Ogilvy was made a baronet; but the courageous minister, with his heroic wife, were only rewarded with a pension in money.[1]

The towns and castles of Scotland being thus reduced, the national resistance was confined to a petty warfare, carried on by small bands, who lurked among the mountains and morasses, and took every advantage which these afforded to annoy the English troops, and cut off small parties, or straggling soldiers. These were called Moss-troopers, from a word formerly appropriated to the freebooters of the Border. But the English, who observed a most rigid discipline, were not much in danger of suffering from such desultory efforts; and as they seldom spared the prisoners taken in the skirmishes, the Scots found themselves obliged to submit, for the first time, to an invader more fortunate than all the preceding rulers of England. Their resistance ceased, but their hatred watched for a safer opportunity of vengeance. The Highlanders, however, being strong in the character of the country and its inhabitants, continued refractory to the English authority, and if the soldiery ventured to go through the country alone, or in small parties, they were sure to be surprised and

[1] [See *ante*, vol vii. pp. 320–338.]

slain, without its being possible to discover the actors. The English officers endeavoured to obtain from the neighbouring chiefs, who pretended complete ignorance of these transactions, such redress as the case admitted of, but their endeavours were in general ingeniously eluded.

For example, an English garrison had lost cattle, horses, and even men, by the incursion of a Highland clan who had their residence in the neighbouring mountains, so that the incensed governor demanded peremptorily, that the actors of these depredations should be delivered up to him to suffer punishment. The chief was in no condition to resist, but was not the less unwilling to deliver up the men actually concerned in the *creagh*, who were probably the boldest, or, as it was then termed, the *prettiest*, men of his name. To get easily out of the dilemma, he is said to have selected two or three old creatures, past all military service, whom he sent down to the English commandant, as if they had been the caterans, or plunderers, whom he wanted. The English officer caused them instantly to be hanged *in terrorem*, which was done accordingly, no protestations which they might make of their innocence being understood or attended to. It is to be hoped that other refractory chiefs found more justifiable means of preserving their authority.

In the mean time, Oliver Cromwell accomplished an extraordinary revolution in England, which I can here but barely touch upon. He and his council of officers, who had so often offered vio-

lence to the Parliament, by excluding from the sittings such members as were obnoxious to them, now resolved altogether to destroy the very remnant of this body. For this purpose Cromwell came to the house while it was sitting, told them, in a violent manner, that they were no longer a Parliament, and, upbraiding several individuals with injurious names, he called in a body of soldiers, and commanded one of them to "take away that bauble," meaning the silver mace, which is an emblem of the authority of the House. Then turning the members forcibly out of the hall, he locked the doors, and thus dissolved that memorable body, which had made war against the King, defeated, dethroned, and beheaded him, yet sunk at once under the authority of one of their own members, and an officer of their own naming, who had, in the beginning of these struggles, been regarded as a man of very mean consideration. Oliver Cromwell now seized the supreme power into his hands, with the title of Protector of the Republics of Great Britain and Ireland, under which he governed these islands till his death, with authority more ample than was ever possessed by any of their lawful monarchs.

The confusion which the usurpation of Cromwell was expected to have occasioned in England, determined the Royalists to attempt a general rising, in which it was expected that great part of the Highland chieftains would join. The successes of Montrose were remembered, although it seems to have been forgotten that it was more his own ge-

nius, than his means, that enabled him to attain them. The Earl of Glencairn was placed by the King's commission at the head of the insurrection; he was joined by the Earl of Athole, by the son of the heroic Montrose, by Lord Lorn, the son of the Marquis of Argyle, and other nobles. A romantic young English cavalier, named Wogan, joined this insurgent army at the head of a body of eighty horse, whom he brought by a toilsome and dangerous march through England and the Lowlands of Scotland. This gallant troop was frequently engaged with the Republican forces, and particularly with a horse regiment, called "the Brazen Wall," from their never having been broken. Wogan defeated, however, a party of these invincibles, but received several wounds, which, though not at first mortal, became so for want of good surgeons; and thus, in an obscure skirmish, ended the singular career of an enthusiastic Royalist.

The army under Glencairn increased to five thousand men, numbers much greater than Montrose usually commanded. Their leader, however, though a brave and accomplished nobleman, seems to have been deficient in military skill, or, at any rate, in the art of securing the good-will and obedience of the various chiefs and nobles who acted under him. It was in vain that Charles, to reconcile their feuds, sent over, as their commander-in-chief, General Middleton, who, after having fought against Montrose in the cause of the Covenant, had at length become an entire Royalist, and was trusted as such. But his military talents were not adequate

to surmount the objections which were made to his obscure origin, and the difficulties annexed to his situation.

General Middleton met with but an indifferent welcome from the Highland army, as the following scene, which took place at an entertainment given by him on taking the command, will show. Glencairn had spoken something in praise of the men he had assembled for the King's service, especially the Highlanders. In reply, up started Sir George Munro, an officer of some reputation, but of a haughty and brutal temper, and who, trained in the wars of Germany, despised all irregular troops, and flatly swore that the men of whom the Earl thus boasted, were a pack of thieves and robbers, whose place he hoped to supply with very different soldiers. Glengarry, a Highland chief, who was present, arose to resent this insolent language; but Glencairn, preventing him, replied to Munro, "You are a base liar!—these men are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen, and brave soldiers."

In spite of Middleton's attempts to preserve peace, this altercation led to a duel. They fought on horseback, first with pistols, and then with broadswords. Sir George Munro, having received a wound on the bridle hand, called to the Earl that he was unable to command his horse, and therefore desired to continue the contest on foot. "You base churl," answered Glencairn, "I will match you either on foot or on horseback." Both dismounted, and encountered fiercely on foot, with their broadswords, when Munro received a wound across his

forehead, from which the blood flowed so fast into his eyes, that he could not see to continue the combat. Glencairn was about to thrust his enemy through the body, when the Earl's servant struck up the point of his master's sword, saying, "You have enough of him, my Lord—you have gained the day." Glencairn, still in great anger, struck the intrusive peace-maker across the shoulders, but returned to his quarters, where he was shortly after laid under arrest, by order of the General.

Ere this quarrel was composed, one Captain Livingstone, a friend of Munro's, debated the justice of the question betwixt the leaders so keenly with a gentleman, named Lindsay, that they must needs fight a duel also, in which Lindsay killed Livingstone on the spot. General Middleton, in spite of Glencairn's intercessions, ordered Lindsay to be executed by martial law, on which Glencairn left the army with his own immediate followers, and soon after returning to the Lowlands, made peace with the English. His example was followed by most of the Lowland nobles, who grew impatient of long marches, Highland quarters, and obscure skirmishes, which were followed by no important result.

Middleton still endeavoured to keep the war alive, although Cromwell had sent additional forces into the Highlands. At length he sustained a defeat at Loch-Gary, 26th July, 1654, after which his army dispersed, and he himself retired abroad. The English forces then marched through the Highlands, and compelled the principal clans to

submit to the authority of the Protector. And here I may give you an account of one individual chieftain, of great celebrity at that time, since you will learn better the character of that primitive race of men from personal anecdotes, than from details of obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronounceable names.

Evan Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the numerous and powerful clan of Cameron, was born in 1629. He was called MacConnuill Dhu (the son of Black Donald), from the patronymic that marked his descent, and Evan Dhu, or Black Evan, a personal epithet derived from his own complexion. Young Lochiel was bred up under the directions of the Marquis of Argyle, and was in attendance on that nobleman, who regarded him as a hostage for the peaceable behaviour of his clan. It is said, that in the civil war the young chief was converted to the side of the King by the exhortations of Sir Robert Spottiswood, then in prison at St Andrews, and shortly afterwards executed, as we have elsewhere noticed, for his adherence to Montrose.

Evan Dhu, having embraced these principles, was one of the first to join in the insurrection of 1652, of which I have just given a short account. During the best part of two years he was always with his clan, in the very front of battle, and behaved gallantly in the various skirmishes which took place. He was compelled, however, on one occasion, to withdraw from the main body, on learning that the English were approaching Lochaber, with the purpose of laying waste the country of

Lochiel. He hastened thither to protect his own possessions, and those of his clan.

On returning to his estates, Lochiel had the mortification to find that the English had established a garrison at Inverlochy, with the purpose of reducing to submission the Royalist clans in the neighbourhood, particularly his own, and the Mac-Donalds of Glengarry and Keppoch. He resolved to keep a strict watch on their proceedings, and dismissing the rest of his followers, whom he had not the means of maintaining without attracting attention to his motions, he lay in the woods with about fifty chosen men, within a few miles of Inverlochy.

It was the constant policy of Cromwell and his officers, both in Ireland and Scotland, to cut down and destroy the forests in which the insurgent natives found places of defence and concealment. In conformity with this general rule, the commandant of Inverlochy embarked three hundred men in two light-armed vessels, with directions to disembark at a place called Achdalew, for the purpose of destroying Lochiel's cattle and felling his woods. Lochiel, who watched their motions closely, saw the English soldiers come ashore, one-half having hatchets and other tools as a working party, the other half under arms, to protect their operations. Though the difference of numbers was so great, the chieftain vowed that he would make the red soldier (so the English were called from their uniform) pay dear for every bullock or tree which he should destroy on the black soldier's property

(alluding to the dark colour of the tartan, and perhaps to his own complexion). He then demanded of some of his followers who had served under Montrose, whether they had ever seen the Great Marquis encounter with such unequal numbers. They answered, they could recollect no instance of such temerity. "We will fight, nevertheless," said Evan Dhu, "and if each of us kill a man, which is no mighty matter, I will answer for the event." That his family might not be destroyed in so doubtful an enterprise, he ordered his brother Allan to be bound to a tree, meaning to prevent his interference in the conflict. But Allan prevailed on a little boy, who was left to attend him, to unloose the cords, and was soon as deep in the fight as Evan himself.

The Camerons, concealed by the trees, advanced so close on the enemy as to pour on them an unexpected and destructive shower of shot and arrows, which slew thirty men; and ere they could recover from their surprise, the Highlanders were in the midst of them, laying about them with incredible fury with their ponderous swords and axes. After a gallant resistance, the mass of the English began to retire towards their vessels, when Evan Dhu commanded a piper and a small party to go betwixt the enemy and their barks, and then sound his pibroch and war-cry, till their clamour made it seem that there was another body of Highlanders in ambush to cut off their retreat. The English, driven to fury and despair by this new alarm, turned back, like brave men, upon the first assail-

ants, and, if the working party had possessed military weapons, Lochiel might have had little reason to congratulate himself on the result of this audacious stratagem.

He himself had a personal rencontre, strongly characteristic of the ferocity of the times. The chief was singled out by an English officer of great personal strength, and, as they were separated from the general strife, they fought in single combat for some time. Lochiel was dexterous enough to disarm the Englishman; but his gigantic adversary suddenly closed on him, and in the struggle which ensued both fell to the ground, the officer uppermost. He was in the act of grasping at his sword, which had fallen near the place where they lay in deadly struggle, and was naturally extending his neck in the same direction, when the Highland chief, making a desperate effort, grasped his enemy by the collar, and snatching with his teeth at the bare and out-stretched throat, he seized it as a wild-cat might have done, and kept his hold so fast as to tear out the windpipe. The officer died in this singular manner. Lochiel was so far from disowning, or being ashamed of this extraordinary mode of defence, that he was afterwards heard to say, it was the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted.

When Lochiel, thus extricated from the most imminent danger, was able to rejoin his men, he found they had not only pursued the English to the beach, but even into the sea, cutting and stabbing whomever they could overtake. He himself advanced till he was chin-deep, and observing

a man on board one of the armed vessels take aim at him with a musket, he dived under the water, escaping so narrowly that the bullet grazed his head. Another marksman was foiled by the affection of the chief's foster-brother, who threw himself betwixt the Englishman and the object of his aim, and was killed by the ball designed for his lord.

Having cut off a second party, who ventured to sally from the fort, and thus, as he thought, sufficiently chastised the garrison of Inverlochy, Lochiel again joined Middleton, but was soon recalled to Lochaber, by new acts of devastation. Leaving most of his men with the Royalist general, Evan Dhu returned with such speed and secrecy, that he again surprised a strong party when in the act of felling his woods, and assaulting them suddenly, killed on the spot a hundred men, and all the officers, driving the rest up to the very walls of the garrison.

Middleton's army being disbanded, it was long ere Lochiel could bring himself to accept of peace from the hands of the English. He continued to harass them by attacks on detached parties who straggled from the fort,—on the officers who went out into the woods in hunting-parties,—on the engineer officers who were sent to survey the Highlands, of whom he made a large party prisoners, and confined them in a desolate island, on a small lake called Loch Ortuigg. By such exploits he rendered himself so troublesome, that the English were desirous to have peace with him on any mo-

derate terms. Their overtures were at first rejected, Evan Dhu returning for answer, that he would not abjure the King's authority, even though the alternative was to be his living and dying in the condition of an exile and outlaw. But when it was hinted to him that no express renunciation of the King's authority would be required, and that he was only desired to live in peace under the existing government, the chief made his submission to the existing powers with much solemnity.

Lochiel came down on this occasion at the head of his whole clan in arms, to the garrison of Inverlochy. The English forces being drawn up in a line opposite to them, the Camerons laid down their arms in the name of King Charles, and took them up again in that of the States, without any mention of Cromwell, or any disowning of the King's authority. In consequence of this honourable treaty, the last Scotsman who maintained the cause of Charles Stuart submitted to the authority of the republic.

It is related of this remarkable chieftain, that he slew with his own hand the last wolf that was ever seen in the Highlands of Scotland. Tradition records another anecdote of him. Being benighted, on some party for the battle or the chase, Evan Dhu laid himself down with his followers to sleep in the snow. As he composed himself to rest, he observed that one of his sons, or nephews, had rolled together a great snow-ball, on which he deposited his head. Indignant at what he considered as a mark of effeminacy, he started up and kicked the snow-ball from under the sleeper's head, ex-

claiming,—"Are you become so luxurious that you cannot sleep without a pillow?"

After the accession of James II., Lochiel came to court to obtain pardon for one of his clan, who, being in command of a party of Camerons, had fired by mistake on a body of Athole men, and killed several. He was received with the most honourable distinction, and his request granted. The King desiring to make him a knight, asked the chieftain for his own sword, in order to render the ceremony still more peculiar. Lochiel had ridden up from Scotland, being then the only mode of travelling, and a constant rain had so rusted his trusty broadsword, that at the moment no man could have unsheathed it. Lochiel, affronted at the idea which the courtiers might conceive from his not being able to draw his own sword, burst into tears.

"Do not regard it, my faithful friend," said King James, with ready courtesy—"your sword would have left the scabbard of itself, had the royal cause required it."

With that he bestowed the intended honour with his own sword, which he presented to the new knight as soon as the ceremony was performed.

Sir Evan Dhu supported the cause of the Stewart family, for the last time, and with distinguished heroism, in the battle of Killiecrankie. After that civil strife was ended, he grew old in peace, and survived until 1719, aged about ninety, and so much deprived of his strength and faculties, that this once formidable warrior was fed like an infant, and like an infant rocked in a cradle.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Administration of Public Justice in Scotland, under Cromwell—Heavy Taxes imposed by him—Church Affairs—Resolutionists and Remonstrators—Trials for Witchcraft.

[1655—1658.]

We will now take a general glance of Scotland, reduced as the country was to temporary submission under Cromwell, whose power there and elsewhere was founded upon military usurpation only. He built strong citadels at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Glasgow. Eighteen garrisons were maintained throughout the kingdom, and a standing army of ten thousand men kept the country in subjection. Monk, so often mentioned, commanded this army, and was, besides, member of a Council of State, to whom the executive government was committed. Lord Broghill was President of this body, and out of nine members, two only, Swinton and Lockhart, were natives of Scotland.

To regulate the administration of public justice, four English, and three Scottish judges, were appointed to hear causes, and to make circuits for that purpose. The English judges, it may be supposed, were indifferently versed in the law of Scotland; but they distributed justice with an impar-

tiality to which the Scottish nation had been entirely a stranger, and which ceased to be experienced from the native judges after the Restoration. The peculiar rectitude of the men employed by Cromwell being pointed out to a learned judge, in the beginning of the next century, his lordship composedly answered, "Devil thank them for their impartiality! a pack of kinless loons—for my part, I can never see a cousin or friend in the wrong."

This shameful partiality in the Scottish courts of justice revived, as just noticed, with the Restoration, when the Judges were to be gained, not only by the solicitation of private friends, and by the influence of kinsfolk, but by the interference of persons in power, and the application of downright bribery.[1]

In point of taxation, Oliver Cromwell's Scottish government was intolerably oppressive, since he appears to have screwed out of that miserable country an assessment of L.10,000 per month, which, even when gradually diminished to L.72,000 yearly, was paid with the utmost difficulty. Some alleviation was indeed introduced by the circulation of the money with which England paid her soldiers and

[1] ["The Court of Session was at times so corrupt, that in the public opinion, the rich had never occasion to lose their cause; at times so venal, that money was notoriously dispensed to purchase the votes on the bench. Personal solicitation was not disused till a later period; and it is observed that nothing contributed more to the early authority which the clergy acquired than their popular invectives against the partial or venal decrees of the bench."—LAING, v. i. p. 449.]

civil establishment, which was at one time calculated at half a million yearly, and was never beneath the moiety of that sum.

With regard to the Presbyterian Church, Cromwell prudently foresaw, that the importance of the preachers would gradually diminish if they were permitted to abuse each other, but prevented from stirring up their congregations to arms. They continued to be rent asunder by the recent discord, which had followed upon the King's death. The majority were Resolutionists, who owned the King's title, and would not be prohibited from praying for him at any risk. The Remonstrants, who had never been able to see any sufficient reason for embracing the cause, or acknowledging the right, of Charles the Second, yielded obedience to the English government, and disowned all notice of the King in their public devotions. The Independents treated both with contemptuous indifference, and only imposed on them the necessity of observing toleration towards each other.

But though divided into different classes, Presbyterianism continued on the whole predominant. The temper of the Scottish nation seemed altogether indisposed to receive any of the various sects which had proved so prolific in England. The quiet and harmless Quakers were the only sectaries who gained some proselytes of distinction. Independents of other denominations made small progress, owing to the vigilance with which the Presbyterian clergy maintained the unity of the Church.

Even Cromwell was compelled to show deference

to the prevailing opinions in favour of Presbytery in Scotland, though contrary to his principles as an Independent. He named a commission of about thirty ministers from the class of Remonstrators, and declared that, without certificates from three or four of these select persons, no minister, though he might be called to a church, should enjoy a stipend. This put the keys of the Church (so far as emolument was concerned) entirely into the hands of the Presbyterians; and it may be presumed, that such of the Commissioners as acted (for many declined the office, thinking the duties of the Ecclesiastical Commission too much resembled the domination of Episcopacy) took care to admit no minister whose opinions did not coincide with their own. The sectaries who were concerned in civil affairs were also thwarted and contemned; and on the whole, in spite of the victories of the Independents in the field, their doctrines made little progress in Scotland.

During the four years which ensued betwixt the final cessation of the Civil War, by the dispersion of the royalist army, and the Restoration of Monarchy, there occurred no public event worthy of notice. The spirit of the country was depressed and broken. The nobles, who hitherto had yielded but imperfect obedience to their native monarchs, were now compelled to crouch under the rod of an English usurper.[1] Most of them retired to their

[1] ["During the usurpation of Cromwell," says Laing, "the history of Scotland is suspended and almost entirely silent. Its historians seem to avert their eyes from a period of ignominious,

country seats, or castles, and lived in obscurity, enjoying such limited dominion over their vassals as the neighbourhood of the English garrisons permitted them to retain. These, of course, precluded all calling of the people at arms, and exercise of the privilege, on the part of the barons, of making open war on each other.

Thus far the subjection of the country was of advantage to the tenantry and lower classes, who enjoyed more peace and tranquillity during this period of national subjugation, than had been their lot during the civil wars. But the weight of oppressive taxes, collected by means of a foreign soldiery, and the general sense of degradation, arising from the rule of a foreign power, counterbalanced for the time the diminution of feudal oppression.

In the absence of other matter, I may here mention a subject which is interesting, as peculiarly characteristic of the manners of Scotland. I mean the frequent recurrence of prosecutions for witchcraft, which distinguishes this period.

Scripture refers more than once to the existence of witches; and though divines have doubted con-

yet not intolerable servitude; but the silence ascribed to their vexation and shame, may be better explained by the inglorious state to which the nation was reduced. As the origin, and as an active confederate, it maintained a distinguished character during the civil wars; but its importance was lost, and its independence extinguished, when incorporated by a compulsive union with England. As the nation had no share in the naval expeditions and triumphs of Cromwell, its external history ceased with its government."—*Hist.*, vol. i. p. 435.]

cerning their nature and character, yet most European nations have, during the darker periods of their history, retained in their statutes laws founded upon the text of Exodus, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."[1] The Reformers, although rejecting the miracles of the Catholic Church, retained with tenacity the belief of the existence of such sorceresses, and zealously enforced the penalties against all unfortunate creatures whom they believed to fall under the description of witches, wizards, or the like. The increase of general information and common sense, has, at a later period, occasioned the annulling of those cruel laws in most countries of Europe. It has been judiciously thought, that, since the Almighty has ceased to manifest his own power, by direct and miraculous suspension of the ordinary laws of nature, it is inconsistent to suppose that evil spirits should be left at liberty in the present day to form a league with wretched mortals, and impart to them supernatural powers of injuring or tormenting others. And the truth of this reasoning has been proved by the general fact, that where the laws against witchcraft have been abolished, witches are rarely heard of, or thought of, even amongst the lowest vulgar.

[1] ["In the Law of Moses, dictated by the Divinity himself, was announced a text, which, as interpreted literally, having been inserted into the Criminal Code of all Christian nations, has occasioned much cruelty and bloodshed, either from its tenor being misunderstood, or that, being exclusively calculated for the Israelites, it made part of the judicial Mosaic dispensation, and was abrogated, like the greater part of that law, by the more benign and clement dispensation of the Gospel."—SIR W. SCOTT, *Letters on Demonology*, p. 52.]

But in the seventeenth century, the belief in this imaginary crime was general, and the prosecutions, especially in Scotland, were very frequent. James VI., who often turned the learning he had acquired to a very idle use, was at the trouble to write a treatise against witchcraft, as he composed another against smoking tobacco; and the Presbyterian clergy, however little apt to coincide with that Monarch's sentiments, gave full acceptation to his opinion on the first point of doctrine, and very many persons were put to death as guilty of this imaginary crime.

I must, however, observe, that some of those executed for witchcraft well deserved their fate. Impostors of both sexes were found, who deluded credulous persons, by pretending an intercourse with supernatural powers, and furnished those who consulted them with potions, for the purpose of revenging themselves on their enemies, which were in fact poisonous compounds, sure to prove fatal to those who partook of them.

Among many other instances, I may mention that of a lady of high rank, the second wife of a northern earl, who, being desirous of destroying her husband's eldest son by the former marriage, in order that her own son might succeed to the father's title and estate, procured drugs to effect her purpose from a Highland woman, who pretended to be a witch or sorceress. The fatal ingredients were mixed with ale, and set aside by the wicked countess, to be given to her victim on the first fitting opportunity. But Heaven disappointed her

purpose, and, at the same time, inflicted on her a dreadful punishment. Her own son, for whose advantage she meditated this horrible crime, returning fatigued and thirsty from hunting, lighted by chance on this fatal cup of liquor, drank it without hesitation, and died in consequence. The wretched mixer of the poison was tried and executed; but, although no one could be sorry that the agent in such a deed was brought to punishment, it is clear she deserved death, not as a witch, but as one who was an accomplice in murder by poison.

But most of the poor creatures who suffered death for witchcraft were aged persons, usually unprotected females, living alone, in a poor and miserable condition, and disposed, from the peevishness of age and infirmity, to rail against or desire evil, in their froward humour, to neighbours by whom they were abused or slighted. When such unhappy persons had unwittingly given vent to impotent anger in bad wishes or imprecations, if a child fell sick, a horse became lame, a bullock died, or any other misfortune chanced in the family against which the ill-will had been expressed, it subjected the utterer instantly to the charge of witchcraft, and was received by judges and jury as a strong proof of guilt. If, in addition to this, the miserable creature had, by the oddity of her manners, the crossness of her temper, the habit of speaking to herself, or any other signs of the dotage which attends comfortless old age and poverty, attracted the suspicions of her credulous neighbours,

she was then said to have been held and reputed a witch, and was rarely permitted to escape being burnt to death at the stake.

It was equally fatal for an aged person of the lower ranks, if, as was frequently the case, she conceived herself to possess any peculiar receipt or charm for curing diseases, either by the application of medicines, of which she had acquired the secret, or by repeating words, or using spells and charms, which the superstition of the time supposed to have the power of relieving maladies that were beyond the skill of medical practitioners.

Such a person was accounted a *white* witch; one, that is, who employed her skill for the benefit, not the harm, of her fellow-creatures. But still she was a sorceress, and, as such, was liable to be brought to the stake. A doctress of this kind was equally exposed to a like charge, whether her patient died or recovered; and she was, according to circumstances, condemned for using sorcery whether to cure or to kill. Her allegation that she had received the secret from family tradition, or from any other source, was not admitted as a defence; and she was doomed to death with as little hesitation for having attempted to cure by mysterious and unlawful means, as if she had been charged, as in the instance already given, with having assisted to commit murder.

The following example of such a case is worthy of notice. It rests on tradition, but is very likely to be true. An eminent English judge was travelling the circuit, when an old woman was brought,

before him for using a spell to cure dimness of sight, by hanging a clew of yarn round the neck of the patient. Marvellous things were told by the witnesses, of the cures which this spell had performed on patients far beyond the reach of ordinary medicine. The poor woman made no other defence than by protesting, that if there was any witchcraft in the ball of yarn, she knew nothing of it. It had been given her, she said, thirty years before, by a young Oxford student, for the cure of one of her own family, who having used it with advantage for a disorder in her eyes, she had seen no harm in lending it for the relief of others who laboured under similar infirmity, or in accepting a small gratuity for doing so. Her defence was little attended to by the jury; but the judge was much agitated. He asked the woman where she resided when she obtained possession of this valuable relic. She gave the name of a village, in which she had in former times kept a petty alehouse. He then looked at the clew very earnestly, and at length addressed the jury. "Gentlemen," he said, "we are on the point of committing a great injustice to this poor old woman; and to prevent it, I must publicly confess a piece of early folly, which does me no honour. At the time this poor creature speaks of, I was at college, leading an idle and careless life, which, had I not been given grace to correct it, must have made it highly improbable that ever I should have attained my present situation. I chanced to remain for a day and night in this woman's alehouse, without having money to

discharge my reckoning. Not knowing what to do, and seeing her much occupied with a child who had weak eyes, I had the meanness to pretend that I could write out a spell that would mend her daughter's sight, if she would accept it instead of her bill. The ignorant woman readily agreed; and I scrawled some figures on a piece of parchment, and added two lines of nonsensical doggrel, in ridicule of her credulity, and caused her to make it up in that clew which has so nearly cost her her life. To prove the truth of this, let the yarn be unwound, and you may judge of the efficacy of the spell." The clew was unwound accordingly; and the following pithy couplet was found on the enclosed bit of parchment—

> "The devil scratch out both thine eyes,
> And spit into the holes likewise."

It was evident that those who were cured by such a spell, must have been indebted to nature, with some assistance, perhaps, from imagination. But the users of such charms were not always so lucky as to light upon the person who drew them up; and doubtless many innocent and unfortunate creatures were executed, as the poor alewife would have been, had she not lighted upon her former customer in the unexpected character of her judge.

Another old woman is said to have cured many cattle of the murrain, by a repetition of a certain verse. The fee which she required, was a loaf of bread and a silver penny; and when she was

commanded to reveal the magical verses which wrought such wonders, they were found to be the following jest on the credulity of her customers :—

> "My loaf in my lap, and my penny in my purse,
> Thou art never the better, and I never the worse."

It was not medicine only which witchery was supposed to mingle with; but any remarkable degree of dexterity in an art or craft, whether attained by skill or industry, subjected those who possessed it to similar suspicion. Thus it was a dangerous thing to possess more thriving cows than those of the neighbourhood, though their superiority was attained merely by paying greater attention to feeding and cleaning the animals. It was often an article of suspicion, that a woman had spun considerably more thread than her less laborious neighbours chose to think could be accomplished by ordinary industry; and, to crown these absurdities, a yeoman of the town of Malling, in Kent, was accused before a justice of peace as a sorcerer, because he used more frequently than his companions to hit the mark which he aimed at. This dexterity, and some idle story of the archer's amusing himself with letting a fly hum and buzz around him, convinced the judge, that the poor man's skill in his art was owing to the assistance of some imp of Satan. So he punished the marksman severely, to the great encouragement of archery, and as a wise example to all justices of the peace.

Other charges, the most ridiculous and impro-

bable, were brought against those suspected of witchcraft. They were supposed to have power, by going through some absurd and impious ceremony, to summon to their presence the Author of Evil, who appeared in some mean or absurd shape, and, in return for the invokers renouncing their redemption, gave them the power of avenging themselves on their enemies; which privilege, with that of injuring and teazing their fellow-creatures, was almost all they gained from their new master. Sometimes, indeed, they were said to obtain from him the power of flying through the air on broomsticks, when the Foul Fiend gave public parties; and the accounts given of the ceremonies practised on such occasions are equally disgusting and vulgar, totally foreign to any idea we can have of a spiritual nature, and only fit to be invented and believed by the most ignorant and brutal of the human species.

Another of these absurdities was, the belief that the evil spirits would attend if they were invoked with certain profane and blasphemous ceremonies, such as reading the Lord's Prayer backwards, or the like; and would then tell the future fortunes of those who had *raised* them, as it was called, or inform them what was become of articles which had been lost or stolen. Stories are told of such exploits by grave authors, which are to the full as ridiculous, and indeed more so, than any thing that is to be found in fairy tales, invented for the amusement of children. And for all this incredible nonsense, unfortunate creatures were imprisoned,

tortured, and finally burnt alive, by the sentence of their judges.

It is strange to find, that the persons accused of this imaginary crime in most cases paved the way for their own condemnation, by confessing and admitting the truth of all the monstrous absurdities which were charged against them by their accusers. This may surprise you; but yet it can be accounted for.

Many of these poor creatures were crazy, and infirm in mind as well as body; and, hearing themselves charged with such monstrous enormities by those whom they accounted wise and learned, became half persuaded of their own guilt, and assented to all the nonsensical questions which were put to them. But this was not all. Very many made these confessions under the influence of torture, which was applied to them with cruel severity.

It is true, the ordinary courts of justice in Scotland had not the power of examining criminals under torture, a privilege which was reserved for the Privy Council. But this was a slight protection; for witches were seldom tried before the ordinary Criminal Courts, because the Judges and lawyers, though they could not deny the existence of a crime for which the law had assigned a punishment, yet showed a degree of incredulity respecting witchcraft, which was supposed frequently to lead to the escape of those accused of this unpopular crime, when in the management of professional persons. To avoid the ordinary jurisdiction of the Justiciary, and other regular criminal jurisdictions,

the trial of witchcraft in the provinces was usually brought before commissioners appointed by the Privy Council. These commissioners were commonly country-gentlemen and clergymen, who, from ignorance on the one side, misdirected learning on the other, and bigotry on both, were as eager in the prosecution as the vulgar could desire.[1] By their commission they had the power of torture, and employed it unscrupulously, usually calling in to their assistance a witch-finder; a fellow, that is, who made money by pretending to have peculiar art and excellence in discovering these offenders, and who sometimes undertook to rid a parish or township of witches at so much a-head, as if they had been foxes, wild-cats, or other vermin. These detestable impostors directed the process of the torture, which frequently consisted in keeping the aged and weary beings from sleep, and compelling them to walk up and down their prison, whenever they began to close their eyes, and in running needles into their flesh, under pretence of discovering a mark, which the witch-

[1] ["These instances afford," says Arnot, "a sufficient specimen of the mode of prosecution against the multitude of miserable persons who were sacrificed at the altar of the Fatal Sisters, —Ignorance,—Superstition,—and Cruelty. But it is impossible to form an estimate of the numbers of the victims. For not only the Lords of Justiciary, but bailies of regalities, sheriffs of counties, and the endless tribe of Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, and sometimes by Parliament, officiated as the priests who dragged the victims to the altar. There is an instance of the Council, at one sederunt, granting *fourteen separate Commissions to take trial of witches*."—*Criminal Trials*, p. 366.]

finders affirmed the devil had impressed on their skin, in token that they were his property and subjects.[1] It is no wonder that wretched creatures, driven mad by pain, and want of sleep, confessed any thing whatever to obtain a moment's relief, though they were afterwards to die for it.

But besides the imbecility of such victims, and the torture to which they were subjected, shame and weariness of life often caused their pleading guilty to accusations in themselves absurd and impossible. You must consider, that the persons accused of witchcraft were almost always held guilty by the public and by their neighbours, and that if the court scrupled to condemn them, it was a common thing for the mob to take the execution into their own hands, and duck the unhappy wretches to death, or otherwise destroy them. The fear of such a fate might determine many of the accused, even though they were in their sound mind, and unconstrained by bodily torture, to plead guilty at once, and rather lose their wretched life by the sentence of the law, than expose themselves to the fury of the prejudiced multitude. A singular story is told to this effect.

[1] ["Such the *ordinary* treatment of a witch. But if the prisoner was endued with uncommon fortitude, other methods were used to extort confession. *The boots, the caspieclaws, and the pilniewinks*, engines for torturing the legs, the arms, and the fingers, were applied to either sex; and that with such violence, that sometimes the blood would have spouted from the limbs; loading with heavy irons, and whipping with cords, till the skin and flesh were torn from the bones, have also been the adopted methods of torment."—ARNOT, p. 368.]

An old woman and her daughter were tried as witches at Haddington. The principal evidence of the crime was, that though miserably poor, the two females had contrived to look "fresh and fair," during the progress of a terrible famine, which reduced even the better classes to straits, and brought all indigent people to the point of starving; while, during the universal distress, these two women lived on in their usual way, and never either begged for assistance, or seemed to suffer by the general calamity. The jury were perfectly satisfied that this could not take place by any natural means; and, as the accused persons, on undergoing the discipline of one Kincaid, a witch-finder, readily admitted all that was asked about their intercourse with the devil, the jury, on their confession, brought them in guilty of witchcraft without hesitation.

The King's Advocate for the time (I believe Sir George Mackenzie is named) was sceptical on the subject of witchcraft. He visited the women in private, and urged them to tell the real truth. They continued at first to maintain the story they had given in their confession. But the Advocate, perceiving them to be women of more sense than ordinary, urged upon them the crime of being accessary to their own death, by persisting in accusing themselves of impossibilities, and promised them life and protection, providing they would unfold the true secret which they used for their subsistence. The poor women looked wistfully on each other, like people that were in perplexity. At

length, the mother said, "You are very good, my lord, and I dare say your power is very great, but you cannot be of use to my daughter and me. If you were to set us at liberty from the bar, you could not free us from the suspicion of being witches. As soon as we return to our hut, we shall be welcomed by the violence and abuse of all our neighbours, who, if they do not beat our brains out, or drown us on the spot, will retain hatred and malice against us, which will be shown on every occasion, and make our life so miserable, that we have made up our minds to prefer death at once."

"Do not be afraid of your neighbours," said the Advocate. "If you will trust your secret with me, I will take care of you for the rest of your lives, and send you to an estate of mine in the north, where nobody can know any thing of your history, and where, indeed, the people's ideas are such, that, if they even thought you witches, they would rather regard you with fear and respect than hatred."

The women, moved by his promises, told him, that, if he would cause to be removed an old empty trunk which stood in the corner of their hut, and dig the earth where he saw it had been stirred, he would find the secret by means of which they had been supported through the famine; protesting to Heaven, at the same time, that they were totally innocent of any unlawful arts, such as had been imputed to them, and which they had confessed in their despair. Sir George Mackenzie hastened to examine the spot, and found concealed in the earth

two firkins of salted snails, one of them nearly empty. On this strange food the poor women had been nourished during the famine. The Advocate was as good as his word; and the story shows how little weight is to be laid on the frequent confessions of the party in cases of witchcraft.

As this story is only traditional, I will mention two others of the same kind, to which I can give a precise date.

The first of these instances regards a woman of rank, much superior to those who were usually accused of this imaginary crime. She was sister of Sir John Henderson of Fordel, and wife to the Laird of Pittardo, in Fife. Notwithstanding her honourable birth and connexions, this unfortunate matron was, in the year 1649, imprisoned in the common jail of Edinburgh, from the month of July till the middle of the month of December, when she was found dead, with every symptom of poison. Undoubtedly the infamy of the charge, and the sense that it must destroy her character and disgrace her family, was the cause which instigated her to commit suicide.

The same sentiment which drove this poor lady to her death, was expressed by a female, young and handsome, executed at Paisley in 1697, in the following short answer to some of her friends, who were blaming her for not being sufficiently active in defending herself upon her trial. "They have taken away my character," she said, "and my life is not worth preserving."

But the most affecting instance of such a con-

fession being made, and persisted in to the last, by an innocent person, is recorded by one who was a diligent collector of witch stories, and a faithful believer in them. He says, that in the village of Lauder, there was a certain woman accused of witchcraft, who for a long time denied her guilt. At length, when all her companions in prison had been removed, and were appointed for execution, and she herself about to be left to total solitude, the poor creature became weary of life, and made a false confession, avowing that she was guilty of certain facts, which, in the opinion of the times, amounted to witchcraft. She, therefore, made it her petition that she should be put to death with the others on the day appointed for their execution. Her clergyman and others, on considering this young woman's particular case, entertained, for once, some doubts that her confession was not sincere, and remonstrated strongly with her upon the wickedness of causing her own death by a false avowal of guilt. But as she stubbornly adhered to her confession, she was condemned, and appointed to be executed with the rest, as she had so earnestly desired. Being carried forth to the place of execution, she remained silent during the first, second, and third prayer, and then perceiving that there remained no more but to rise and go to the stake, she lift up her body, and with a loud voice cried out, "Now, all you that see me this day, know that I am now to die as a witch, by my own confession; and I free all men, especially the ministers and magistrates, of the guilt of my blood. I

take it wholly upon myself—my blood be upon my own head; and, as I must make answer to the God of Heaven presently, I declare I am as free of witchcraft as any child; but being delated by a malicious woman, and put in prison under the name of a witch,—disowned by my husband and friends,—and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of prison, or ever coming in credit again, through the temptation of the devil I made up that confession, on purpose to destroy my own life, being weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live."—And so died.[1]

It was remarkable that the number of supposed witches seemed to increase in proportion to the increase of punishment. On the 22d of May, 1650, the Scottish Parliament named a committee for enquiry into the depositions of no less than fifty-four witches, with power to grant such commissions as we have already described, to proceed with their trial, condemnation, and execution. Supposing these dreaded sorceresses to exist in such numbers, and to possess the powers of injury imputed to

[1] ["The bloody zeal of these inquisitors attained to a refinement in cruelty so shocking to humanity, and so repugnant to justice, as to be almost incredible. Not satisfied with torturing *the person* of the accused, their ingenious malice assailed the more delicate feelings and ardent affections of *the mind*. An aged husband, an infant daughter, would have been tortured in presence of the accused, in order to subdue her resolution. Nay, death itself did not screen the remains of those miserable persons from the malice of their prosecutors. If an unfortunate woman, trembling at a citation for witchcraft, ended her sufferings by her own hands, she was dragged from her house at a horse's-tail, and buried under the gallows."—ARNOT, p. 368.]

them, it was to be expected, as Reginald Scot expresses himself, that "there would neither be butter in the churn, nor cow in the close, nor corn in the field, nor fair weather without, nor health within doors." Indeed the extent to which people indulged their horrors and suspicions, was in itself the proof of their being fanciful. If, in a small province, or even a petty town, there had existed scores of people possessed of supernatural power, the result would be, that the laws of nature would have been liable to constant interruption.

The English judges appointed for Scotland in Cromwell's time saw the cruelty and absurdity of witch-trials, and endeavoured to put a stop to them; but the thanks which they received were only reflections on their principles of toleration, the benefit of which, in the opinion of the Scots, was extended, by this lenity, not only to heretics of every denomination, but even to those who worshipped the devil. Some went still farther, and accused the Sectaries of holding intercourse with evil spirits in their devotions. This was particularly reported and believed of the Quakers, the most simple and moral of all dissenters from the church.

Wiser and better views on the subject began to prevail in the end of the seventeenth century, and capital prosecutions for this imaginary crime were seen to decrease. The last instance of execution for witchcraft took place in the remote province of Sutherland, in 1722, under the direction of an ignorant provincial judge, who was cen-

sured by his superiors for the proceeding.[1] The victim was an old woman in her last dotage, so silly that she was delighted to warm her wrinkled hands at the fire which was to consume her; and who, while they were preparing for her execution, repeatedly said, that so good a blaze, and so many neighbours gathered round it, made the most cheerful sight she had seen for many years!

The laws against witchcraft, both in England and Scotland, were abolished; and persons who pretend to fortune-telling, the use of spells, or similar mysterious feats of skill, are now punished as common knaves and impostors. Since this has been the case, no one has ever heard of witches or witchcraft, even among the most ignorant of the vulgar; so that the crime must have been entirely imaginary, since it ceased to exist so soon as men ceased to hunt it out for punishment.

[1] [" The last person who was prosecuted before the *Lords of Justiciary* for witchcraft was *Elspeth Rule*, who was tried before Lord Anstruther at the Dumfries circuit, on the 3d of May, 1709. No special act of witchcraft was charged against her; the indictment was of a very general nature, that the prisoner was *habit and repute* a witch, and that she had used threatening expressions against persons at enmity with her, who were afterwards visited with the loss of cattle, or the death of friends, and one of whom ran mad. The jury by a majority of voices found these articles proved, and the judge ordained the prisoner to be burned on the cheek, and to be banished Scotland for life."—ARNOT, pp. 366, 367.]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Cromwell's System of Government—his Death—Richard Cromwell's Accession to the Protectorate, and Retirement from it—Anecdotes of him—General Monk's Advance to London—Dissolution of the Long Parliament—Sir John Grenville's Interview with Monk, and Proposal for the Recall of the Exiled Stewarts—The Restoration—Arrival of Charles II. at Dover.

[1658–1660.]

Oliver Cromwell, who, in the extraordinary manner I have told you, raised himself to the supreme sovereignty of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was a man of great talents, and, as has been already said, not naturally of a severe or revengeful disposition. He made the kingdoms which he ruled formidable to foreign powers; and perhaps no government was ever more respected abroad than that of the Lord Protector.

At home Cromwell had a very difficult task to perform, in order to maintain his usurped authority. He was obliged on several occasions, as has been successfully done in other countries by usurpers of his class, to convoke some kind of senate or parliament, consisting of his own creatures, who might appear to divide with him the power,

and save him, in appearance at least, the odium of governing by his sole authority. But such was the spirit of the English nation, that whenever Cromwell convoked a Parliament, though in a great measure consisting of his own partisans, and though the rest were studiously chosen as mean and ignorant persons, the instant that they met they began to inquire into the ground of the protector's authority, and proposed measures which interfered with his assumption of supreme power.

In addition to this, the various factions into which the country was divided, all agreed in hating the usurped power of the Protector, and were frequently engaged in conspiracies against him, which were conceived and carried on not only by Cavaliers and Presbyterians, but by Republicans, and even by soldiers among his own ranks.

Thus hard pressed on every side, the Protector displayed the utmost sagacity in his mode of defending himself. On two or three occasions, indeed, he held what he called High Courts of Justice, by whose doom both Cavaliers and Presbyterians suffered capital punishment for plots against his government. But it was with reluctance Cromwell resorted to such severe measures. His general policy was to balance parties against each other, and make each of them desirous of the subsistence of his authority, rather than run the risk of seeing it changed for some other than their own. At great expense and by constant assiduity, he maintained spies in the councils of every faction of the state, and often the least suspected, and

apparently most vehement, among the hostile parties, were, in private, the mercenary tools of Cromwell.

In the wandering court of Charles II. in particular, one of the most noted cavaliers was Sir Richard Willis, who had fought bravely, and suffered much, in the cause both of the late King and of his son. There was no man among the Royalists who attended on Charles's person so much trusted and honoured as this gentleman, who, nevertheless, enjoyed a large pension from Cromwell, and betrayed to him whatever schemes were proposed for the restoration of the exiled monarch. By this and similar intercourse, the Protector had the means of preventing the numerous conspiracies against him from coming to a head, and also of opposing the machinations of one discontented party by means of the others.

It is believed, however, that, with all his art, the Protector would not have been able to maintain his power for many years. A people long accustomed to a free government were generally incensed at being subjected to the unlimited authority of one man, and the discontent became universal. It seemed that, towards the conclusion of his life, Cromwell was nearly at the end of his expedients; and it is certain, that his own conduct then displayed an apprehension of danger which he had never before exhibited. He became morose and melancholy, always wore secret armour under his ordinary dress, never stirred abroad unless surrounded with guards, never returned by the

same road, nor slept above thrice in the same apartment, from the dread of assassination. His health broke down under these gloomy apprehensions; and on the 3d of September, 1658, he died at the age of sixty. His death was accompanied by a general and fearful tempest;[1] and by another circumstance equally striking in those superstitious times, namely, that he died on the day and month in which he had gained his decisive victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

The sceptre, which Oliver had held with so firm a grasp, was transferred to that of his son, Richard Cromwell; while the funeral of the deceased Protector was solemnized at an expense superior far to what England had bestowed on the obsequies of any of her kings. But this apparent transmission of Oliver's authority to his son was only nominal. A Parliament, which Richard assembled that they might vote him supplies, commenced an enquiry into the nature of the new Lord Protector's title; and a council of officers whom he convoked, became refractory, and assumed an authority which he dared not dispute with them. These military despots compelled Richard to dissolve the Parlia-

[1] ["We must resign. Heaven his great soul doth claim
In storms, as loud as his immortal fame;
His dying groans—his last breath shakes our isle,
And trees uncut, fall for his funeral pile;
About his palace their broad roots are tost
Into the air—So Romulus was lost;
New Rome in such a tempest missed her king,
And from obeying, fell to worshipping."—WALLER.]

ment, and subsequently obliged him to resign the office of Protector. He descended quietly into humble life, burdened not only by many personal debts, but also by the demands of those who had supplied the exorbitant expenses of his father's funeral, which the State unworthily and meanly suffered to descend upon him.

22d April, 1659.

Richard Cromwell, removed from the dangers and the guilt of power, lived a long and peaceable life, and died in 1712, at the age of eighty-six. Two anecdotes respecting him are worth mentioning. When he was obliged to retire abroad on account of his debts, Richard Cromwell, travelling under a borrowed name, was led, from curiosity, to visit Pezenas, a pleasant town and castle in Languedoc. The proprietor was the Prince of Conti, a French prince of the blood royal, who, hearing an English traveller was in the palace, had the curiosity to receive him, that he might learn the latest news from England, which at this time astonished Europe by its frequent changes of government. The French prince spoke to the stranger of Oliver Cromwell as a wicked man, and a lawless usurper of the government: but then he acknowledged his deep sagacity, high talents, and courage in danger, and admired the art and force with which he had subjected three kingdoms to his own individual authority. "He knew how to command," continued the prince, "and deserved to be obeyed. But what has become of the poor poltroon,

Richard—the coward, the dastard, who gave up, without a blow or struggle, all that his father has gained? Have you any idea how the man could be such a fool, and mean-spirited caitiff?" Poor Richard, glad to remain unknown where he was so little esteemed, only replied, "that the abdicated Protector had been deceived by those in whom he most trusted, and to whom his father had shown most kindness." He then took leave of the prince, who did not learn till two days afterwards, that he had addressed so unpleasing a discourse to the person whom it principally regarded.

The other anecdote is of a later date, being subsequent to 1705. Some lawsuit of importance required that Richard Cromwell should appear in the King's Bench Court. The judge who presided showed a generous deference to fallen greatness, and to the mutability of human affairs. He received with respect the man who had been once Sovereign of England, caused a chair to be placed for him within the bar, and requested him to be covered. When the counsel on the opposite side began his speech, as if about to allude to Richard's descent from the obnoxious Oliver, the judge checked him with generous independence. "I will hear nothing on that topic, sir," he said; "speak to the merits of the cause before us." After his appearance in court, Richard Cromwell's curiosity carried him to the House of Peers, where he stood below the bar, looking around him, and making observations on the alterations which he saw. A person who heard a decent-looking old man speak-

ing in this way, said to him, civilly, "It is probably a long while, sir, since you have been in this house?" —"Not since I sat in that chair," answered the old gentleman, pointing to the throne, on which he had been, indeed, seated as sovereign, when, more than fifty years before, he received the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, on his succeeding to his father in the supreme power.

To return to public affairs in London, where, after the abdication of Richard, changes succeeded with as little permanence as the reflection of faces presented to a mirror,—the attempt of the officers of the army to establish a purely military government, was combated by the return to Parliament of those republican members whom Oliver Cromwell had expelled, and whom the common people, by a vulgar but expressive nickname, now called the Rump Parliament. This assembly, so called because it was the sitting part of that which commenced the civil war, was again subjected to military violence, and dissolved by General Lambert,[1] who unquestionably designed in his own person to

[1] ["Merley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace-yard, resolute to oppose the violence of Lambert; but that artful general knew an easy way of disappointing them. He placed his soldiers in the streets which lead to Westminster Hall When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, observing that they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterprise, a solemn fast had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the usual prelude to every signal violence which they committed."—HUME.]

act the part of Oliver Cromwell, though without either the talents or high reputation of the original performer. But a general change had taken place in the sentiments of the nation.

The public had been to a certain degree patient under the government of Oliver, to whom it was impossible to deny all the praise which belongs to firmness and energy; but they saw with disgust these feeble usurpers, by whom his vigorous government was succeeded, bustle amongst themselves, and push each other from the rudder of the state, without consulting the people at large. Remembering the quiet and peaceful condition of the kingdom before the civil wars, when its kings succeeded by hereditary right to a limited power, and when the popular and monarchical branches of the constitution so judiciously balanced each other, that the whole British nation looked back to the period as one of liberty, peace, and lawful order; and comparing this happy and settled state of public affairs with the recent manner in which every successive faction seized upon power when they could snatch it, and again yielded it up to the grasp of another and stronger party, all men were filled with dissatisfaction.

Upon the whole, the thoughts of all the judicious part of the nation were turned towards the exiled prince, and there was a general desire to call him back to the exercise of the government, an inclination which was only suppressed by the strong hand of the armed fanatics. It was absolutely necessary that some military force should be on foot,

in order to cope with these warlike saints, as they called themselves, before the general disposition of the kingdom could have room or freedom to express itself.

As it was the disturbances in Scotland which first shook the throne of Charles the First, so it was from the same country that the movement took place which eventually replaced on the throne his son and heir. We have already noticed that the kingdom of Scotland had been finally subdued by the efforts of General Monk, who afterwards governed it during the protectorate of Cromwell, and in obedience to his authority.

Monk was a man of a grave, reserved, and sagacious character, who had gained general esteem by the manner in which he managed Scottish affairs. He had taken care to model the veteran troops under his command in that kingdom, so as to subject them to his own separate control, and to detach from their command such officers as were either violent enthusiasts, or peculiarly attached to Lambert and his council of officers. Thus having under his immediate command a movable force of between seven and eight thousand men, besides those necessary to garrison Scotland, Monk eagerly watched the contest of the factions in London, in order to perceive and seize on the fit opportunity for action.

This seemed to arrive when the army under Lambert again thrust the Rump Parliament out of doors, and commenced a new military government, by means of a committee of officers, called the Council of Safety. Monk then threw aside the

mask of indifference which he had long worn, assembled his forces on the Borders, and declared for the freedom of Parliament, and against the military faction by which they had been suppressed. The persuasion was universal throughout Britain, that Monk, by these general expressions, meant something more effectual than merely restoring the authority of the Rump, which had fallen into the common contempt of all men, by the repeated acts of violence to which they had tamely submitted. But General Monk, allowing all parties to suppose what they thought most probable, proceeded to make his preparations for marching towards England with the greatest deliberation, without suffering even a whisper to escape concerning the ultimate objects of the expedition. He assembled the Scottish Convention of Estates, and asked and received from it a supply of six months' pay, for the maintenance of his troops. The confidence entertained of his intentions was such, that the Convention offered him the support of a Scottish army of twenty-four thousand men ; but Monk declined assistance which would have been unpopular in England. He then proceeded in his plan of new-modelling his army, with more boldness than before, dismissing many of the Independent officers whom he had not before ventured to cashier, and supplying their places with Presbyterians, and even with secret Royalists.

The news of these proceedings spread through England, and were generally received with joy. Universal resistance was made to the payment of

taxes; for the Rump Parliament had, on the eve of its expulsion by Lambert, declared it high treason to levy money without consent of Parliament, and the provinces, where Lambert and his military council had no power of enforcing their illegal exactions, refused to obey them. The Council of Safety wanted money therefore, even for the payment of their troops, and were reduced to extreme perplexity.

Lambert himself, a brave man, and a good officer, saw the necessity of acting with promptitude; and placing himself at the head of a considerable force of veteran soldiers, marched towards Scotland. His numbers were enhanced by the report of the various spies and agents whom he sent into Monk's army under the guise of envoys. "What will you do?" said one of these persons, addressing a party of Monk's soldiers; "Lambert is coming down against you with such numerous forces, that your army will not be a breakfast for him."

"The north must have given Lambert a good appetite," answered one of Monk's veterans, "if he be willing to chew bullets, and feed upon pikes and musket barrels."

In this tone of defiance the two armies moved against each other. Lambert took up his headquarters at Newcastle. Monk, on the other hand, placed his at Coldstream, on the Tweed, a place which commanded the second best passage over that river, Berwick being already in his hands. Coldstream, now a thriving town, was then so miserable, that Monk could get no supper, even for

his own table, but was fain to have recourse to chewing tobacco to appease his hunger. Next day provisions were sent from Berwick; and the camp at Coldstream is still kept in memory in the English army, by the second regiment of guards, which was one of those that composed Monk's vanguard, being called to this day the Coldstream regiment.

The rival generals at first engaged in a treaty, which Monk, perceiving Lambert's forces to be more numerous than his own, for some time encouraged, aware that want of pay, and of the luxuries to which they were accustomed in London, would soon induce his rival's troops to desert him.

Disaffection and weariness accordingly began to diminish Lambert's forces, when at length they heard news from the capital by which they were totally dispirited. During Lambert's absence, the presidency in the Military Committee, and the command of such of the army as remained to overawe London, devolved on General Fleetwood, a weak man, who really was overcome by the feelings of fanaticism, which others only affected.[1] In-

[1] ["When he received intelligence of any murmur among the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was among them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself on his knees before them; and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him than that 'God had spitten in his face and would not hear him;' so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had

capable of any exertion, this person suffered the troops under his command to be seduced from his interest to that of the Rump Parliament, which thus came again, and for the last time, into power. With these tidings came to Newcastle others of a nature scarce less alarming. The celebrated General Fairfax had taken arms in Yorkshire, and was at the head of considerable forces, both Cavaliers and Presbyterians, who declared for calling a free parliament, that the national will might be consulted in the most constitutional manner, for once more regaining the blessing of a settled government. The soldiers of Lambert, disconcerted by these events, and receiving no pay, began to break up; and when Lambert himself attempted to lead them back to London, they left him in such numbers, that his army seemed actually to melt away, and leave the road to the capital open to Monk and the forces from Scotland.

That general moved on accordingly, without opposition, carefully concealing his own intentions, receiving favourably all the numerous applications which were made to him for calling a new and free parliament, in order to regenerate the national constitution, but returning no reply which could give the slightest intimation of his ultimate purpose. Monk observed this mystery, in order, perhaps, that he might reserve to himself the power of being guided by circumstances—at all events,

preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself."—CLARENDON, vol. vi. pp. 705, 706.]

knowing well, that if he were to declare in favour of any one party, or set of principles, among the various factious opinions which divided the state, the others would at once unite against him, a course which they would be loath to adopt, while each as yet entertained hopes that he might turn to their side.

With the eyes of all the nation fixed upon him and his forces, Monk advanced to Barnet, within ten miles of London, and from thence caused the Parliament to understand that they would do well to send from the city the remains of the army of Fleetwood, in case of discord between his troops and those which at present occupied the capital. The Rump Parliament had no alternative but to take the hint, unless they had resolved to try the fate of battle at the head of those insubordinate troops, who had more than once changed sides between Lambert and Fleetwood on one side, and themselves on the other, against the steady veterans of the Scottish wars. The late army of Fleetwood, excepting two regiments commanded by men whom Monk could perfectly trust, were ordered to leave the city, and the general of the army of Scotland entered at the head of his troops, who, rough from a toilsome march, and bearing other marks of severe service, made a far more hardy and serviceable, though a less showy appearance, than those who had so long bridled the people of London.

General Monk, and the remnant of the Parliament, met each other with external civility, but

with great distrust on both sides. They propounded to him the oath of abjuration, as it was called, by which he was to renounce and abjure all allegiance to the House of Stewart, and all attempts to restore Charles II. But the general declined taking the oath; too many oaths, he said, had been already imposed on the public, unless they had been better kept. This circumstance seemed to throw light on Monk's intentions, and the citizens of London, now as anxious for the King's restoration as ever they had been for the expulsion of his father, passed a vote in Common Council, by which they declared they would pay no taxes or contributions to this shadow of a Parliament, until the vacant seats in it should be filled up to the full extent of a genuine House of Commons.

The Rump Parliament had now, they conceived, an opportunity of ascertaining Monk's real purpose, and forcing him to a decisive measure. They laid their express commands on him to march into the city, seize upon the gates, break down the portcullises, destroy the ports, chains, and other means of defending the streets, and take from the contumacious citizens all means of protecting in future the entrance into the capital.

Monk, to the astonishment of most of his own officers, obeyed the commands thus imposed on him. He was probably desirous of ascertaining whether the disposition of his troops would induce them to consider the task as a harsh and unworthy one. Accordingly, he no sooner heard his soldiers

exclaiming at the disgrace of becoming the tools of the vengeance of the Rump members against the city of London, than he seemed to adopt their feelings and passions as his own, and like them complained, and complained aloud, of having been employed in an unjust and unpopular task, for the express purpose of rendering him odious to the citizens.

At this crisis, the rashness of the ruling junto, for it would be absurd to term them a Parliament, gave the general, whom it was their business to propitiate if possible, a new subject of complaint. They encouraged a body of the most fanatical sectaries, headed by a ridiculous personage called Praise-God Barebone,[1] to present a violent petition to the House, demanding that no one should

[1] [Of the Parliament chosen by Cromwell in 1653, Hume says, "They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house there was an active member much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in [Fleet Street] London: his name *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of 'Barebone's Parliament.'"—"It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their name from Henry, Edward, &c., which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly; even the New Testament names James, Peter, &c. were not held in such regard as those borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, &c. &c. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. There are the names of a Sussex jury enclosed about that time. 'Accepted, Trevor of Norsham,'—'Make Peace, Heaton of Hare,'—'Standfast-on-High, Stringer of Crowhurst,'—'Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith, White of Emer,' &c. &c. · The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for name, '*If Christ had not died for you, you had been damn'd, Barebone.*' But the people, tired

be admitted to any office of public trust, or so much as to teach a school, without his having taken the abjuration oath; and proposing, that any motion made in Parliament for the restoration of the King should be visited with the pains of high treason.

The tenor of this petition, and the honour and favour which it received when presented, gave Monk the further cause of complaint against the Rump, or Remnant of the Parliament, which perhaps was what he chiefly desired. He refused to return to Whitehall, where he had formerly lodged, and took up his abode in the city, where he found it easy to excuse his late violence upon their defences, and to atone for it by declaring himself the protector and ally of the magistrates and community. From his quarters in the heart of London, the general wrote to the Parliament an angry expostulation, charging them with a design to arm the more violent fanatics, and call in the assistance of Fleetwood and Lambert against the army he had marched from Scotland; and recommending to them, in a tone of authority, forthwith to dissolve themselves, and call a new Parliament, which should be open to all parties. The Parliament, greatly alarmed at this intimation, sent two of their members to communicate with the general; but they could only extract from him, that if writs went instantly forth for the new elections, it would be very well, otherwise, he and they were likely to disagree.

of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone*."—HUME.]

The assurance that General Monk had openly quarrelled with the present rulers, and was disposed to insist for a free and full Parliament, was made public by the printing and dispersing of the general's letter, and the tidings filled the city with most extravagant rejoicings. The Royalists and Presbyterians, forgetting past animosities, mingled in common joy, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of factious tyrants by their calamitous divisions. The rabble rung all the bells, lighted immense bonfires in every street, and danced around them, while they drank healths to the general, the secluded members, and even to the King. But the principal part of their amusement was roasting rumps of poultry, or fragments of butcher-meat cut into that form, in ridicule of their late rulers, whose power they foresaw would cease, whenever a full Parliament should be convened. The revelry lasted the whole night, which was that of 11th February, 1660.

Monk, supported at once by military strength and the consciousness of general popularity, did not wait until the new Parliament should be assembled, or the present dissolved, to take measures for destroying the influence of the junto now sitting at Westminster. He compelled them to open their doors, and admit to their deliberations and votes all the secluded members of their body, who had been expelled from their seats by military violence, since it was first practised on the occasion called Colonel Pride's Purge. These members, returning to Parliament accordingly, made by their

numbers such a predominant majority in the House, that the fifty or sixty persons who had lately been at the head of the Government, were instantly reduced to the insignificance, as a party, from which they had only emerged by dint of the force which had been exercised to exclude the large body who were now restored to their seats.

The first acts of the House thus renovated were to disband the refractory part of the army, to dispossess the disaffected officers, of whom there were very many, and to reduce the country to a state of tranquillity; after which they dissolved themselves, 16th March, having first issued writs to summon a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of April. Thus then finally ended the Long Parliament, as it is called, which had sat for nearly twenty years; the most eventful period, perhaps, in British History.

While this important revolution was on the eve of taking place, Charles the Second's affairs seemed to be at a lower ebb than they had almost ever been before. A general insurrection of the Cavaliers had been defeated by Lambert a few months before, and the severe measures which followed had, for the time, totally subdued the spirit, and almost crushed the party of the Royalists. It was in vain that Charles had made advances to Monk while in Scotland, both through the general's own brother, and by means of Sir John Grenville, one of his nearest and most valued relatives and friends. If Monk's mind was then made up concerning the part which he designed to perform, he

at least, was determined to keep his purpose secret in his own bosom, and declined, therefore, though civilly, to hear any proposition on the part of the banished family. The accounts which the little exiled court received concerning Monk's advance into England were equally disconsolate. All intercourse with the Cavaliers had been carefully avoided by the cloudy and mysterious soldier, in whose hands Fortune seemed to place the fate of the British kingdoms. The general belief was, that Monk would renew, in his own person, the attempt in which Cromwell had succeeded and Lambert had failed, and again place a military commander at the head of the Government; and this opinion seemed confirmed by his harsh treatment of the City.

While Charles and his attendants were in this state of despondence, they were suddenly astonished by the arrival from England of a partisan, named Baillie, an Irish Royalist, who had travelled with extreme rapidity to bring the exiled Prince the news of Monk's decided breach with the remnant of the Long Parliament, and the temper which had been displayed by the City of London when his letter became public. The King and his small Council listened to the messenger as they would have done to one speaking in a dream. Overwearied and fatigued by the journey, and strongly excited by the importance of the intelligence which he brought them, the officer seemed rather like one under the influence of temporary derangement or intoxication, than the deliberate bearer of great tidings. His character was, how-

ever, known as a gentleman of fidelity and firmness, and they heard him with wonder again and again affirm, that London was blazing with bonfires, that the universal wish of the people of all sorts, boldly and freely expressed, demanded the restoration of the King to his authority, and that Monk had insisted upon the summoning of a free Parliament, which the junto called the Rump, had no longer the power of opposing. He produced also a copy of Monk's letter to the Parliament, to show that the general had completely broken with that body.

Other messengers soon confirmed the joyful tidings, and Sir John Grenville was despatched to London in all haste, with full powers to offer the general every thing which could gratify ambition or love of wealth, on condition of his proving the friend of Charles at this crisis.

This faithful and active Royalist reached the metropolis, and cautiously refusing to open his commission to any one, obtained a private interview with the mysterious and reserved general. He boldly communicated his credentials, and remained unappalled, when Monk, stepping back in surprise, asked him, with some emotion, how he dared become the bearer of such proposals. Sir John replied firmly, that all danger which might be incurred in obedience to his Sovereign's command had become familiar to him from frequent practice, and that the King, from the course which Monk had hitherto pursued, entertained the most confident hope of his loyal service. On this

General Monk either laid aside the mask which he had always worn, or only now formed his determination upon a line of conduct that had hitherto been undecided in his own mind. He accepted of the high offers tendered to him by the young Prince; and, from that moment, if not earlier, made the interest of Charles the principal object of his thoughts. It has been indeed stated, that he had expressed his ultimate purpose of serving Charles before leaving Scotland; but whatever may have been his secret intentions, it seems improbable that he made any one his confident.

At the meeting of the new Parliament, the House of Peers, which regained under this new aspect of things the privileges which Cromwell had suspended, again assumed their rank as a branch of the legislature. As the Royalists and Presbyterians concurred in the same purpose of restoring the King, and possessed the most triumphant majority, if not the whole votes, in the new House of Commons, the Parliament had only to be informed that Grenville awaited without, bearing letters from King Charles, when he was welcomed into the House with shouts and rejoicings; and the British Constitution, by King, Lords, and Commons, after having been suspended for twenty years, was restored at once and by acclamation.

Charles Stewart, instead of being a banished pretender, whose name it was dangerous to pronounce, and whose cause it was death to espouse, became at once a lawful, beloved, almost adored prince, whose absence was mourned by the people,

as they might have bemoaned that of the sun itself; and numbers of the great or ambitious hurried to Holland, where Charles now was, some to plead former services, some to excuse ancient delinquencies, some to allege the merit of having staked their lives in the King's cause, others to enrich the Monarch, by sharing with him the spoils which they had gained by fighting against him.

It has been said by historians, that this precipitate and general haste in restoring Charles to the throne, without any conditions for the future, was throwing away all the advantage which the nation might have derived from the Civil Wars, and that it would have been much better to have readmitted the King upon a solemn treaty, which should have adjusted the prerogative of the Crown, and the rights of the subject, and settled for ever those great national questions which had been disputed between Charles the First and his Parliament. This sounds all well in theory; but in practice there are many things, and perhaps the Restoration is one of them, which may be executed easily and safely, if the work is commenced and carried through in the enthusiasm of a favourable moment, but which is likely enough to miscarry, if protracted beyond that happy conjuncture. The ardour in favour of monarchy, with which the mass of the English nation was at this time agitated, might probably have abated during such a lengthened treaty, providing for all the delicate questions respecting the settlement of the Church and State, and necessarily involving a renewal of all the dis-

cussions which had occasioned the Civil War. And supposing that the old discord was not rekindled by raking among its ashes, still it should be remembered that great part of Cromwell's army was not yet dissolved, and that even Monk's troops were not altogether to be confided in. So that the least appearance of disunion, such as the discussions of the proposed treaty were certain to give rise to, might have afforded these warlike enthusiasts a pretext for again assembling together, and reinstating the military despotism, which they were pleased to term the Reign of the Saints.

A circumstance occurred which showed how very pressing this danger was, and how little wisdom there would have been in postponing the restoration of a legal government to the event of a treaty. Lambert, who had been lodged in the Tower as a dangerous person, made his escape from that state prison, fled to Daventry, and began to assemble forces. The activity of Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been, like Lambert himself, an officer under Cromwell, but who was now firmly attached to Monk, stifled a spark which might have raised a mighty conflagration. He succeeded in gaining over and dispersing the troops who had assembled under Lambert, and making his former commander prisoner with his own hand, brought him back in safety to his old quarters in the Tower of London. But as the roads were filled with soldiers of the old Cromwellian army, hastening to join Lambert, it was clear that only the immediate suppression of his

23d April.

force, and the capture of his person, prevented the renewal of general hostilities.

In so delicate a state of affairs, it was of importance that the Restoration, being the measure to which all wise men looked as the only radical cure for the distresses and disorders of the kingdom, should be executed hastily, leaving it in future to the mutual prudence of the King and his subjects to avoid the renewal of those points of quarrel which had given rise to the Civil War of 1641; since which time, both Royalists and Parliamentarians had suffered such extreme misery as was likely to make them very cautious how the one made unjust attempts to extend the power of the Crown, or the other to resist it while within its constitutional limits.

The King landed at Dover on 26th May, 1660, and was received by general Monk, now gratified and honoured with the dukedom of Albemarle, the Order of the Garter, and the command of the army. He entered London on the 29th, which was also his birth-day; and with him came his two brothers, James Duke of York, of whom we shall have much to say, and the Duke of Gloucester, who died early. They were received with such extravagant shouts of welcome, that the King said to those around him, "It must surely have been our own fault, that we have been so long absent from a country where every one seems so glad to see us."[1]

[1] ["In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged nearly twenty years, and been carried on with all the

horrid circumstances of murther, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword could be instruments of. It was but five months since Lambert's fanatical army was scattered and confounded, and General Monk's marched into England: it was but three months since the secluded members were restored; and shortly after, the monstrous Long Parliament finally dissolved: it was but a month since the King's Letters and Declarations were delivered to the New Parliament. On the first of May they were delivered, and his Majesty was at Whitehall on the 29th of the same month."]

CHAPTER XLIX.

Character of Charles II.—Middleton sent as High Commissioner to Scotland—Measures of the Scottish Parliament for the Introduction of Episcopacy—Trial and Execution of the Marquis of Argyle—Trial of Judge Swinton and others—Act of Uniformity—the Nonconforming Clergy displaced—The Earl of Lauderdale succeeds to the power of Middleton.

[1660—1665.]

Of Charles the Second, who thus unexpectedly, and as it were by miracle, was replaced on his father's throne, in spite of so many obstacles as within even a week or two of the event seemed to render it incredible, I have not much that is advantageous to tell you. He was a prince of an excellent understanding, of which he made less use than he ought to have done; a graceful address, much ready wit, and no deficiency of courage. Unfortunately, he was very fond of pleasure, and, in his zeal to pursue it, habitually neglected the interests of his kingdom. He was very selfish too, like all whose own gratification is their sole pursuit; and he seems to have cared little what became of friends or enemies, providing he could maintain himself on the throne, get money to supply

the expenses of a luxurious and dissolute court, and enjoy a life of easy and dishonourable pleasure. He was good-natured in general; but any apprehension of his own safety easily induced him to be severe and even cruel, for his love of self predominated above both his sense of justice and his natural clemency of temper. He was always willing to sacrifice sincerity to convenience, and perhaps the satirical epitaph, written upon him at his own request, by his witty favourite, the Earl of Rochester, is not more severe than just—

> "Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
> Whose word no man relies on;
> Who never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one."

After this sketch of the King's character, we must return to Scotland, from which we have been absent since Monk's march from Coldstream, to accomplish the Restoration.

This great event was celebrated with the same general and joyful assent in Scotland which had hailed it in the sister country. Indeed the Scots, during the whole war, can hardly be said to have quitted their sentiments of loyalty to the monarchy. They had fought against Charles I., first to establish Presbytery in their own country, and then to extend it into England; but then even the most rigid of the Presbyterians had united in the resistance to the English invasion, had owned the right of Charles the Second, and asserted it to their severe national loss at the battle of Dunbar. Since that eventful overthrow, the influence of the Church

of Scotland over the people at large had been considerably diminished, by disputes among the ministers themselves, as they espoused more rigid or more moderate doctrines, and by the various modes in which it had been Cromwell's policy to injure their respectability, and curb their power. But the Presbyterian interest was still very strong in Scotland. It entirely engrossed the western counties, had a large share of influence in the south and midland provinces, and was only less predominant in the northern shires, where the Episcopal interest prevailed.

The Presbyterian church was sufficiently alive to their own interest and that of their body, for they had sent to Monk's army, ere it had reached London, an agent or commissioner to take care of the affairs of the Scottish Church in any revolution which should take place in consequence of the General's expedition.

This agent was James Sharpe, famous during his life, and still more in his deplorable death. At this time he was a man competently learned, bold, active, and ambitious, displaying much zeal for the interest of the Church, and certainly by no means negligent of his own. This Master James Sharpe quickly found, while in London, that there was little purpose of establishing the Presbyterian religion in Scotland. It is true, that King Charles had, on his former expedition into Scotland, deliberately accepted and sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, the principal object of which was the establishment of Presbytery of the most rigid

kind. It was also true, that the Earl of Lauderdale, who, both from his high talents, and from the long imprisonment which he had sustained ever since the battle of Worcester, had a peculiar title to be consulted on Scottish affairs, strongly advised the King to suffer his northern subjects to retain possession of their darling form of worship; and though he endeavoured to give this advice in the manner most agreeable to the King, ridiculing bitterly the pedantry of the Scottish ministers, and reprobating the uses made of the Covenant, and in so far gratifying and amusing the King, still he returned to the point, that the Covenant and Presbyterian discipline ought not to be removed from Scotland, while the people continued so partial to them. They should be treated, he argued, like froward children, whom their keepers do not vex by struggling to wrest from them an unfitting plaything, but quietly wait to withdraw it when sleep or satiety makes it indifferent to them.

But the respect due to the King's personal engagement, as well as the opinion thus delivered by this worldly-wise nobleman, were strongly contested by those Cavaliers who professed absolute loyalty and devotion to the King, and affected to form their political opinions on those of Montrose. They laid upon the Presbyterian Church the whole blame of the late rebellion, and contended that the infamous transaction of delivering up Charles the First to the Parliamentary forces, was the act of an army guided by Presbyterian counsels. In short, they imputed to the Church of Scotland the whole

original guilt of the war, and though it was allowed that they at length joined the royal cause, it was immediately added that their accession only took place when they were afraid of being deprived of their power over men's consciences, by Cromwell and his independent schismatics. The King was then reminded, that he had been received by the Presbyterians less as their prince than as a passive tool and engine, whom they determined to indulge in nothing save the name of a Sovereign; and that his taking the Covenant had been under a degree of moral restraint, which rendered it as little binding as if imposed by personal violence. Lastly, the King was assured that the whole people of Scotland were now so much delighted with his happy restoration, that the moment was highly favourable for any innovation either in church or state, which might place the crown firmer on his head; that no change could be so important as the substitution of Episcopacy for Presbytery; and that the opportunity, if lost, might never return.

The King himself had personal reasons, though they ought not to have entered into such a discussion, for recollecting with disgust the affronts and rigorous treatment which he had received from the Presbyterian leaders, before the battle of Dunbar had diminished their power. He had then adopted a notion that Presbytery was not a religion "for a gentleman," and he now committed to Lord Middleton, who was to be his High Commissioner and representative in the Scottish Parliament, full powers to act in the matter of altering the national

religious establishment to the Episcopal model, as soon as he should think proper.

This determination was signing the doom of Presbytery as far as Charles could do so; for Middleton, though once in the service of the Covenanting Parliament, and as such opposed to Montrose, by whom he was beaten at the Bridge of Dee, had afterwards been Major-General of the Duke of Hamilton's ill-fated army, which was destroyed at Uttoxeter in 1648, and ever since that period had fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, in the cause of Charles, maintaining at the same time the tenets of the most extravagant Royalism. He was a good soldier, but in other respects a man of inferior talents, who had lived the life of an adventurer, and who, in enjoying the height of fortune which he had attained, was determined to indulge without control all his favourite propensities. These were, unhappily, of a coarse and scandalous nature. The Covenanters had assumed an exterior of strict demeanour and precise morality, and the Cavaliers, in order to show themselves their opposites in every respect, gave into the most excessive indulgences in wine and revelry, and conceived that in doing so they showed their loyalty to the King, and their contempt of what they termed the formal hypocrisy of his enemies. When the Scottish Parliament met, the members were, in many instances, under the influence of wine, and they were more than once obliged to adjourn, because the Royal Commissioner was too intoxicated to behave properly in the chair.

While the Scottish Parliament was in this jovial humour, it failed not to drive forward the schemes of the Commissioner Middleton, and of the very violent Royalists, with a zeal which was equally imprudent and impolitic. At once, and by a single sweeping resolution, it annulled and rescinded every statute and ordinance which had been made by those holding the supreme authority in Scotland since the commencement of the civil wars; although in doing so, it set aside many laws useful to the subject, many which had received the personal assent of the Sovereign, and some that were entered into expressly for his defence, and the acknowledgment and protection of his right. By a statute subsequent to the Act Rescissory, as it was called, the whole Presbyterian church government was destroyed, and the Episcopal institutions, to which the nation had shown themselves so adverse, were rashly and precipitately established. James Sharpe, to whom allusion has already been made, who had yielded to the high temptations held out to him, was named Lord Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Primate of Scotland,[1] and other persons, either

[1] [" The great stain," says Sir Walter Scott, " will always remain, that Sharpe deserted and probably betrayed a cause which his brethren intrusted to him, and abused to his own purposes a mission which he ought not to have undertaken, but with the determination of maintaining its principal object. Kirkton says, that when Sharpe returned from Scotland, he himself, affecting no ambition for the prelacy, pressed the acceptance of the See of Saint Andrews upon Mr Robert Douglas, one of his former colleagues. The stern Presbyterian saw into his secret soul, and when he had given his own positive rejection, demanded of his

ancient members of the Episcopal Church, or new converts to the doctrines which seemed a sure road to preferment, were appointed Prelates, with seats in Parliament, and who afterwards attained great influence in the councils of the nation.

It may seem wonderful that such great changes, and in a matter so essential, should have been made without more violent opposition. But the general joy at finding themselves delivered from the domination of England; the withdrawing the troops, and abandoning the citadels by which Cromwell had ruled them, as a foreign conqueror governs a subdued country; and the pleasure of enjoying once more their own Parliament under the authority of their native prince, had a great effect, amid the first tumult of joy, in reconciling the minds of the Scottish people to the change even of the form of religion, when proposed and carried through as the natural consequences (it was pretended) of the restoration of royal power.

The Scottish nobility, and many of the gentry, especially the younger men, had long resented the interference of the Presbyterian preachers, in searching out scandals and improprieties within the bosoms of families; and this right, which the clergy claimed and exercised, became more and

former friend what he would do himself were the offer made to him? Sharpe hesitated;—'I perceive,' said Douglas, 'you are clear—you will engage—you will be Primate of Scotland; take it then,' he added, laying his hand on his shoulder, 'and take the curse of God along with it' (p. 135). The subject would suit a painter."—*Review of Kirkton, ante*, vol. xix. pp. 239, 240.]

more intolerable to those who were disposed to adopt the gay and dissolute manners which distinguished the Cavaliers of England, and who had for some time regarded with resentment the interference and rebukes with which the Presbyterian clergy claimed the right of checking their career of pleasure.

The populace of the towns were amused with processions, largesses, free distribution of liquor, and such like marks of public rejoicing, by which they are generally attracted. And I cannot help mentioning as remarkable, that on 23d April, 1661, Jenny Geddes, the very woman who had given the first signal of civil broil, by throwing her stool at the Dean of Edinburgh's head, when he read the service-book on the memorable 23d July, 1637, showed her conversion to loyalty by contributing the materials of her green-stall, her baskets, shelves, forms, and even her own wicker-chair, to augment a bonfire kindled in honour of his Majesty's coronation, and the proceedings of his Parliament.

There were many, however, in Scotland, who were very differently affected by the hasty proceedings of Middleton and his jovial Parliament, of whose sentiments I shall have much to say hereafter.

The greatest evil to be apprehended from the King's return, was the probability that he might be disposed to distinguish the more especial enemies of himself and his father, and perpetuate the memory of former injuries and quarrels, by taking vengeance for them. Charles had indeed publish-

ed a promise of indemnity and of oblivion, for all offences during the civil war, against his own or his father's person. But this proclamation bore an exception of such persons as Parliament should point out as especially deserving of punishment. Accordingly, those who had been actively concerned in the death, or, as it may well be termed, the murder of Charles I., were, with one or two others, who had been peculiarly violent during the late times, excepted from pardon; and although but few were actually executed, yet it had been better perhaps to have spared several even of the most obnoxious class. But that is a question belonging to English history. In order that Scotland might enjoy the benefit of similar examples of severity, it was resolved also to bring to trial some of the most active persons there.

Among these, the Marquis of Argyle, whom we have so often mentioned, was by far the most considerable. He had repaired to London on the Restoration, hoping to make interest with the King, but was instantly arrested, and imprisoned in the Tower, and afterwards sent down to Scotland to undergo a trial, according to the laws of that country. There was a strong desire, on the part of the Cavalier party, that Argyle should be put to death, in revenge for the execution of Montrose, to whom, you must remember, he had been a deadly and persevering enemy. Undoubtedly this powerful nobleman had been guilty of much cruelty in suppressing the Royalist party in the Highlands; and had, probably, been privately accessary to Mon-

trose's tragical fate, though he seemed to hold aloof from the councils held on the subject. But it was then greatly too late to call him into judgment for these things.[1] The King, when he came to Scotland, after Montrose's execution, had acknowledged all that was done against that illustrious loyalist as good service rendered to himself, had entered the gate of Edinburgh, over which the features of his faithful general were blackening in the sun, and had received, in such circumstances, the attendance and assistance of Argyle as of a faithful and deserving subject. Nay, besides all this, which in effect implied a pardon for Argyle's past offences, the Marquis was protected by the general Act of Remission, granted by Charles in 1651, for all state offences committed before that period.

Sensible of the weight of this defence, the Crown counsel and judges searched anxiously for some evidence of Argyle's having communicated with the English army subsequently to 1651.

[1] ["His defence was vigorous and plausible at least, if not always just. He affirmed that the atrocities imputed to his clan were partly fictitious, partly exaggerated; committed during his absence in England from the violence of the times; and that a cruel revenge was to be expected from his people, whose country had been twice wasted with fire, and devoted to the sword. We may judge of the extravagance of the charge, and the fanaticism of the accusers themselves, from a fact asserted in his first indictment; that a tree on which thirty-six of his enemies were hanged, was immediately blasted, and when hewn down, a miraculous and copious stream of a bloody hue, with which the earth was deeply saturated, was emitted for several years from the root."—LAING, v. ii. p. 11; *State Trials*, ii. 422.]

The trial was long protracted, and the accused was about to be acquitted for want of testimony to acts of more importance than that compulsory submission which the conquering Englishmen demanded from all, and which no one had the power to refuse. But just when the Marquis was about to be discharged, a knock was heard at the door of the court, and a despatch just arrived from London was handed to the Lord Advocate. As it was discovered that the name of the messenger was Campbell, it was concluded that he bore the pardon, or remission of the Marquis; but the contents were very different, being certain letters which had been written by Argyle to General Monk, when the latter was acting under Cromwell, in which he naturally endeavoured to gain the general's good opinion, by expressing a zeal for the English interest, then headed and managed by his correspondent. Monk, it seems, had not intended to produce these letters, if other matter had occurred to secure Argyle's condemnation, desirous, doubtless, to avoid the ignominy of so treacherous an action; yet he resolved to send them, that they might be produced in evidence, rather than that the accused should be acquitted. This transaction leaves a deep blot on the character of the restorer of the English monarchy.

These letters, so faithlessly brought forward, were received as full evidence of the Marquis's ready compliance with the English enemy; and being found guilty, though only of doing that which no man in Scotland dared refuse to do at

the time, he received sentence of death by beheading.

As Argyle rose from his knees, on which he had received the sentence, he offered to speak, but the trumpets sounding, he stopped till they ended; then he said, "This reminds me that I had the honour to set the crown upon the King's head" (meaning at the coronation at Scone), "and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own!" Then turning to the Commissioner and Parliament, he added, "You have the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and have denied me a share in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of Kings; and shortly you must be before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to account for all your actings, and this among the rest."

He faced death with a courage which other passages of his life had not prepared men to expect, for he was generally esteemed to be of a timorous disposition. On the scaffold, he told a friend that he felt himself capable of braving death like a Roman, but he preferred submitting to it with the patience of a Christian. The rest of his behaviour made his words good; and thus died the celebrated Marquis of Argyle, so important a person during this melancholy time. He was called by the Highlanders Gillespie Grumach, or the Grim, from an obliquity in his eyes, which gave a sinister expression to his countenance. The Marquis's head replaced on the tower of the

Tolbooth that of Montrose, his formidable enemy, whose scattered limbs were now assembled, and committed with much pomp to an honourable grave.[1]

John Swinton of Swinton, representative of a family which is repeatedly mentioned in the preceding series of these tales, was destined to share Argyle's fate. He had taken the side of Cromwell very early after the battle of Dunbar, and it was by his councils, and those of Lockhart of Lee, that the Usurper chiefly managed the affairs of Scotland. He was, therefore, far more deeply engaged in compliances with Cromwell than the Marquis of Argyle, though less obnoxious in other respects. Swinton was a man of acute and penetrating judgment, and great activity of mind; yet, finding himself beset with danger, and sent down to Scotland in the same ship with Argyle, he chose, from conviction, or to screen himself from danger, to turn Quaker. As he was determined that his family should embrace the same faith, his eldest son, when about to rise in the morning, was surprised to see that his laced scarlet coat, his rapier, and other parts of a fashionable

[1] ["The public hatred which Argyle had incurred while alive was converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was justly imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and insatiate desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his titles and estate; and, as happens wherever a statesman suffers, whether from national justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and relieve his character from the obloquy which would have continued attached to it had he been permitted to survive."—LAING.]

young gentleman's dress at the time, were removed, and that a plain suit of grey cloth, with a slouched hat, without loop or button, was laid down by his bedside. He could hardly be prevailed on to assume this simple habit.

His father, on the contrary, seemed entirely to have humbled himself to the condition he had assumed; and when he appeared at the bar in the plain attire of his new sect, he declined to use any of the legal pleas afforded by the act of indemnity, or otherwise, but answered according to his new religious principles of non-resistance, that it was true he had been guilty of the crimes charged against him, and many more, but it was when he was in the gall of wickedness and bond of iniquity; and that now, being called to the light, he acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to atone for them with his life. The mode of his delivery was at once so dignified and so modest, and the sight of a person who had enjoyed great power, placed under such altered circumstances, appears to have so much affected the Parliament before whom he stood, that his life was spared, though he was impoverished by forfeiture and confiscation. The people in his own country said, that if Swinton had not *trembled*, he would not have *quaked;* but notwithstanding this pun, his conversion seems to have been perfectly sincere. It is said, that he had a principal share in converting to the opinions of the Friends, the celebrated Robert Barclay, who afterwards so well defended their cause in the "Apology for the people called, in scorn, Quakers."

Swinton remained a member of their congregation till his death, and was highly esteemed among them.

The escape of Judge Swinton might be accounted almost miraculous, for those who followed him through the same reign, although persons chiefly of inferior note, experienced no clemency. Johnstone of Warriston, executed for high treason, was indeed a man of rank and a lawyer, who had complied with all the measures of Cromwell and of the following times. But it seemed petty vengeance which selected as subjects for capital punishment, Mr Guthrie, a clergyman, who had written a book imputing the wrath of Heaven against Scotland to the sins of Charles I. and his house, and a man called Govan, merely because he had been the first to bring to Scotland the news of Charles's death, and had told it in terms of approbation.

An act of oblivion was at length passed; but it contained a fatal clause, that those who might be entitled to plead the benefit of it, should be liable to certain fines, in proportion to their estates. The imposition of those fines was remitted to a committee of Parliament, who secretly accepted large bribes from those who were the most guilty, and inflicted severe penalties on such as were comparatively innocent, but who disdained to compound for their trespasses.

A transaction of a description still more daring, shows the rapacious and reckless character of the commissioner Middleton, in the strongest light.

The Marquis of Argyle, as I have already said,

had been executed, and his son succeeded to the title of Earl of Argyle only. He had repaired to London, in order to make some interest at court, and had been persuaded that some of the minions of Lord Clarendon, then at the head of affairs, would, for a thousand pounds, undertake to procure for him that minister's patronage and favour. Argyle upon this wrote a confidential letter to Lord Duffus, in which he told him, that providing he could raise a thousand pounds, he would be able to obtain the protection of the English minister; that in such case he trusted the present would prove but a *gowk* storm;[1] and after some other depreciating expressions concerning the prevailing party in the Scottish Parliament, he added, that "then the King would see their tricks."

This letter fell into the hands of Middleton, who determined, that for expressions so innocent and simple, being in fact the natural language of a rival courtier, Argyle should be brought to trial for *leasing-making;* a crime, the essence of which consisted in spreading abroad falsehoods, tending to sow dissension between the King and the people. On this tyrannical law, which had been raked up on purpose, but which never could have been intended to apply to a private letter, Argyle was condemned to lose his head, and forfeit his estate. But the account of such a trial and sentence for a vague expression of ill-humour, struck Charles and his privy council with astonishment when it reached

[1] A short storm, such as comes in the spring, the season of the cuckoo, which the Scotch call the Gowk.

England, and the Chancellor Clarendon was the first to exclaim in the King's presence, that did he think he lived in a country where such gross oppression could be permitted, he would get out of his Majesty's dominions as fast as the gout would permit him. An order was sent down, forbidding the execution of Argyle, who was nevertheless detained prisoner until the end of Middleton's government,—a severe penalty for imputing tricks to the royal Ministry. He was afterwards restored to his liberty and estates, to become at a later period a victim to similar persecution.

It was by driving on the alteration of church government in Scotland, that Middleton hoped to regain the place in Charles's favour, and Clarendon's good opinion, which he had lost by his excesses and severity. A general act of uniformity was passed for enforcing the observances of the Episcopal church, and it was followed up by an order of council of the most violent character, framed, it is said, during the heat of a drunken revel at Glasgow.[1] This furious 1st. Oct. 1662.

[1] ["At Middleton's desire," says the Reverend Mr James Kirkton, "the Council is conveened, and because it was ane extraordinary ane, I shall give their names. There were present, Middleton, commissioner, Glencairn, chancellor, Duke Hamilton, Montrose, Morton, Eglinton, Lithgow, Callendar, Newburgh, Sinclair, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and Blackhall; and the report was, being conveened at Glasgow, there was never a man among them but he was drunk at the time, except only Lee. But when they were sett, the commissioner propounds the case and the bishop's overture, which all approve except the Lord Lee. He told them they would all be mistaken; that proclamation would only lay the country desolate, and increase the hatred to

mandate commanded that all ministers who had not received a presentation from their lay patrons, and spiritual induction into their livings from the prelates, should be removed from them by military force, if necessary. All their parishioners were prohibited from attending upon the ministry of such nonconformists, or acknowledging them as clergymen. This was at one stroke displacing all Presbyterian ministers who might scruple at once to become Episcopalians.

It appeared by this rash action, that Middleton entertained an opinion that the ministers, however attached to Presbyterianism, would submit to the Episcopal model rather than lose their livings, which were the only means most of them had for the support of themselves and families. But to the great astonishment of the commissioners, about three hundred and fifty ministers resigned their churches without hesitation, and determined to submit to the last extremity of poverty, rather than enjoy comfort at the price of renouncing the tenets of their church. In the north parts of Scotland, in the midland counties, and along the eastern side of the Borders, many or most of the clergy conformed. But the western shires, where Presbytery had been ever most flourishing, were almost entirely depri-

bishops, and confusion among the people; and that they would find the young ministers would suffer more than loss of stipend before they would acknowledge bishops; and both sides pawned the reputation of their judgment upon the success of the proclamation."—*Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 149. See Sir Walter Scott's review of this work, *ante*, vol. xix. pp. 249, &c.]

ved of their pastors; and the result was, that a number equal to one-third of the whole parish ministers of Scotland, were at once expelled from their livings, and the people deprived of their instructions.

The congregations of the exiled preachers were strongly affected by this sweeping change, and by the fate of their clergymen. Many of the latter had, by birth or marriage, relations and connexions in the parishes from which they were summarily banished, and they had all been the zealous instructors of the people in religion, and often their advisers in secular matters also. It was not in nature that their congregations should have seen them with indifference suddenly reduced from decent comfort to indigence, and submitting to it with patience, rather than sacrifice their conscientious scruples to their interest. Accordingly, they showed, in almost every case, the deepest sympathy with the distresses of their pastors,[1] and corresponding indignation against the proceedings of the Government.

The cause also for which the clergy suffered, was not indifferent to the laity. It is true, the conse-

[1] ["I believe there was never such a sad Sabbath in Scotland, as when the poor persecuted ministers took leave of their people. It did not content the congregation to weep all of them, but they howled with a loud voice, weeping with the weeping of *Jazer*, as when a besieged city is sackt. Then Middleton began to curse and swear (as he spared not), what would these mad fellows do? He knew very well many of them had not a stock could maintain their poor families for six months, and that was very true; but he understood not they resolved to live by faith, as sufferers use to do."—KIRKTON, p. 150.]

quences of the Solemn League and Covenant had been so fatal, that at the time of the Restoration none but a few high-flying and rigid Presbyterians would have desired the re-establishment of that celebrated engagement. It depended only on the temper and moderation of the Court, to have reduced what was once the idol of all true Presbyterians, to the insignificance of an old almanack, as it had been termed by the Independents. But there was great difference between suffering the Covenant to fall into neglect, as containing doctrines too highly pitched and readily susceptible of misrepresentation, and in complying with the Government by ridiculing as absurd, and renouncing as odious, a document, which had been once so much respected.

The Parliament, however, commanded the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned at the Cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with every mark of dishonour; while figures, dressed up to resemble Western Whigamores, as they were called, were also committed to the flames, to represent a burning of Presbyterianism in effigy. But as those who witnessed these proceedings could not but recollect, at the same time, that upon its first being formed, the same Covenant had been solemnly sworn to by almost all Scotland,—nobility, gentry, clergy, burgesses, and people, with weeping eyes, and uplifted hands, and had been solemnly taken by the King himself, and a very large proportion of the statesmen, including the present Ministers,—it was natural they should feel involuntary respect

for that which once appeared so sacred to themselves, or to their fathers, and feel the unnecessary insults directed against it as a species of sacrilege.

The oaths, also, which imposed on every person in public office the duty of renouncing the Covenant, as an unlawful engagement, were distressing to the consciences of many, particularly of the lower class; and, in general, the efforts made to render the Covenant odious and contemptible, rather revived its decaying interest with the Scottish public.

There was yet another aggravation of the evils consequent on the expulsion of the Presbyterian clergy. So many pulpits became vacant at once, that the prelates had no means of filling them up with suitable persons, whose talents and influence might have supplied the place of the exiled preachers. Numbers of half-educated youths were hastily sent for from the northern districts, in order that they might become *curates*, which was the term used in the Scottish Episcopal Church for a parish priest, although commonly applied in England to signify a clergyman hired to discharge the duty of another. From the unavoidable haste in filling the vacancies in the church, these raw students, so hastily called into the spiritual vineyard, had, according to the historians of the period, as little morality as learning, and still less devotion than either. A northern country gentleman is said to have cursed the scruples of the Presbyterian clergy, because, he said, ever since they threw up their livings, it was impossible to find a boy to herd cows —they had all gone away to be curates in the west.

The natural consequences of all these adverse circumstances were, that the Presbyterian congregations withdrew themselves in numbers from the parish churches, treated the curates with neglect and disrespect,[1] and, seeking out their ancient preachers in the obscurity to which they had retired, begged and received from them the religious instruction which the deprived clergymen still thought it their duty to impart to those who needed and desired it, in despite of the additional severities imposed by the government upon their doing so.

The Episcopal Church Courts, or Commission Courts, as they were termed, took upon them to find a remedy for the defection occasioned by the scruples of the people. Nine prelates, and thirty-five commissioners from the laity, of whom a bishop, with four assistants, made a quorum, were

[1] ["Kirkton has given a whimsical account of their reception," says Sir Walter Scott, "some points of which he frankly admits to be little to the credit of his own sect, who were the actors on those occasions. In some places, the new incumbents were welcomed with tears and requests to get them gone; in others with reasoning and disputes; in others with affronts and indignities. Sometimes the clapper of the bell was stolen; sometimes the church doors were harricadoed; sometimes the unfortunate incumbent was received with volleys of stones. On one occasion a hox-full of pismires was emptied into the curate's hoots. On another, which our Preshyterian divine tells at more length than we care to rehearse it after him, a trick, something like that played off on the miller of Trompington, was practised on two of these hated divines.—Kirkton adds candidly, 'I have known some profane people, that if they committed an error at night, thought affronting a curate to-morrow a testimony of their repentance.'"—*Review of Kirkton, ante*, vol. xix. pp. 252, 253.]

intrusted with the power of enforcing the acts for the preservation of the newly re-established Episcopal Church. These oppressive ecclesiastical courts were held wherever there was a complaint of nonconformity; and they employed all the rigours of long imprisonment, heavy fines, and corporal punishment, upon those who either abandoned the worship of their own parish church, or went to hear the doctrine of the Presbyterian clergy, whose private meetings for worship were termed conventicles.

These conventicles were at first held in private houses, barns, or other buildings, as was the case in England, where (though in a much more moderate degree, and by milder measures) the general conformity of the church was also enforced. But as such meetings, especially if numerously attended, were liable to be discovered and intruded upon by peace-officers and soldiers, who dispersed them rudely, sometimes plundering the men of their purses, and the women of their cloaks and plaids, the Scottish Presbyterians had recourse to an expedient of safety, suggested by the wild character of their country, and held these forbidden meetings in the open air, remote alike from observation and interruption, in wild, solitary, and mountainous places, where it was neither easy to find them, nor safe to disturb them, unless the force which assailed the congregation was considerable.[1]

[1] ["The first who begune to preach in the fields were Mr John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple, and were indeed, because of their

On the other hand, the Privy Council doubled their exertions to suppress, or rather to destroy, the whole body of nonconformists. But the attention of the English ministers had been attracted by the violence of their proceedings. Middleton began to fall into disfavour with Charles, and was sent as governor to Tangier, in a kind of honourable banishment, where he lost the life which he had exposed to so many dangers in battle, by a fall down a staircase.[1]

Lauderdale, who succeeded to his power, had much more talent. He was ungainly in his personal appearance, being a big man, with shaggy red hair, coarse features, and a tongue which seemed too large for his mouth. But he possessed a great portion of sense, learning, and wit. He was originally zealous for the Covenant, and his enemies at court had pressed forward the oaths by which it was to be renounced with the more eagerness, that they hoped Lauderdale would scruple

painfullness and boldness, in no small respect among the common people; but partly because of the deep disdain the people bore to the curats, partly because of their scandals and insufficiency, and partly because of the admonitions some of the ministers gave the people to be constant in the good old way of the Church of Scotland, and to beware of false teachers coming among them, very many of the people refused to hear the curats after they were settled in their pulpits. And the first fruit of their ministry was scattering of the flocks."—KIRKTON, p. 164.]

[1] ["There (at Tangier) he lived some little time, in misery and contempt enough, till death caught him, when, by a fall in his drunkenness, he broke the bone of his right arm; and the broken bone, at the next tumble down a pair of stairs so wounded him in the side, that he first turned stupid, and then died."—KIRKTON, p. 159.]

to take them; but he only laughed at the idea of their supposing themselves capable of forming any oath which could obstruct the progress of his rise to political power.

Being now in full authority, Lauderdale distinctly perceived that the violent courses adopted were more likely to ruin Scotland, than to establish Episcopacy. But he also knew, that he could not retain the power he had obtained, unless by keeping on terms with Sharpe, the Primate of Scotland, and the other bishops, at whose instigation these wild measures were adopted and carried on; and it is quite consistent with Lauderdale's selfish and crafty character, to suppose that he even urged them on to farther excesses, in order that, when the consequences had ruined their reputation, he might succeed to the whole of that power, of which, at present, the prelates had a large share. The severities against dissenters, therefore, were continued; and the ruinous pecuniary penalties which were imposed on nonconformists, were raised by quartering soldiers upon the delinquents, who were entitled to have lodging, meat, and drink, in their houses, and forage for their horses, without any payment, till the fine was discharged. These men, who knew they were placed for the purpose of a punishment in the families where they were quartered, took care to be so insolent and rapacious, that if selling the last article he had of any value could raise money, to rid him of these unwelcome guests, the unfortunate landlord was glad to part with them at whatever sacrifice.

The principal agents in this species of crusade against Calvinism, were the soldiers of the King's horse-guards, a body raised since the Restoration, upon the plan of the French household troops, the privates of which were accounted gentlemen, being frequently the younger sons of men of some pretension to family; cavaliers by profession, accustomed to practise the debauchery common among the dissolute youth of the period, and likely, from habit and inclination, to be a complete pest and torment to any respectable house in which they might be quartered. Other regiments of horse, upon the ordinary establishment, were raised for the same purpose.

The west of Scotland, and in particular Dumfriesshire, Ayrshire, and Galloway, were peculiarly harassed, as being more averse to the Episcopalian establishment, or, as the Council termed it, more refractory and obstinate than any others. For the purpose of punishing those nonconformists, Sir James Turner was sent thither with a considerable party of troops, and full commission from the Privy Council to impose and levy fines, and inflict all the other penalties, for enforcing general compliance with the Episcopal system. Sir James was a soldier of fortune, who had served under David Lesley, and afterwards in the army of Engagers, under the Duke of Hamilton. He was a man of some literature, having written a treatise on the Art of War, and some other works, besides his own Memoirs. Nevertheless, he appears, by the account he gives of himself in his Memoirs, to have

been an unscrupulous plunderer, and other authorities describe him as a fierce and dissolute character. In such hands the powers assigned by the Commission were not likely to slumber, although Sir James assures his readers that he never extorted above one-half of the fine imposed. But a number of co-operating circumstances had rendered the exercise of such a commission as was intrusted to him, less safe than it had hitherto been.

CHAPTER L.

Conventicles—The Pentland Rising—Battle of Rullion Green—The Indulgence granted—withdrawn—The outlawed Covenanters—Armed Conventicles—Superstition of the Covenanters—Persecution of them—Adventure of Captain Creichton.

[1665—1678.]

When the custom of holding field conventicles was adopted, it had the effect of raising the minds of those who frequented them to a higher and more exalted pitch of enthusiasm. The aged and more timid could hardly engage on distant expeditions into the wild mountainous districts and the barren moors, and the greater part of those who attended divine worship on such occasions, were robust of body, and bold of spirit, or at least men whose deficiency of strength and courage were more than supplied by religious zeal. The view of the rocks and hills around them, while a sight so unusual gave solemnity to their acts of devotion, encouraged them in the natural thought of defending themselves against oppression, amidst the fortresses of nature's own construction, to which they had repaired to worship the God of nature, according to the mode their education dictated and their conscience ac-

knowledged.[1] The recollection, that in these fastnesses their fathers had often found a safe retreat from foreign invaders, must have encouraged their natural confidence, and it was confirmed by the success with which a stand was sometimes made against small bodies of troops, who were occasionally repulsed by the sturdy Whigs whom they attempted to disperse. In most cases of this kind they behaved with moderation, inflicting no further penalty upon such prisoners as might fall into their hands, than detaining them to enjoy the benefit of a long sermon. Fanaticism added marvels to encourage this new-born spirit of resistance. They conceived themselves to be under the immediate

[1] ["——Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland muirs, where rivers, there but brooks,
Disport to different seas; fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat
With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye; in solitudes like these,
Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foiled
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
There leaning on his spear (one of the array,
Whose gleam, in former days, had scathed the Rose
On England's banner, and had powerless struck
The infatuate monarch and his wavering host),
The lyart veteran heard the word of God
By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
In gentle stream; then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-born note."
GRAHAME'S *Sabbath*.]

protection of the Power whom they worshipped, and in their heated state of mind expected even miraculous interposition. At a conventicle held on one of the Lomond hills in Fife, it was reported and believed that an angelic form appeared in the air, hovering above the assembled congregation, with his foot advanced, as if in the act of keeping watch for their safety.

On the whole, the idea of repelling force by force, and defending themselves against the attacks of the soldiers, and others who assaulted them, when employed in divine worship, began to become more general among the harassed nonconformists. For this purpose many of the congregation assembled in arms, and I received the following description of such a scene from a lady whose mother had repeatedly been present on such occasions.

The meeting was held on the Eildon hills, in the bosom betwixt two of the three conical tops which form the crest of the mountain. Trusty sentinels were placed on advanced posts all around, so as to command a view of the country below, and give the earliest notice of the approach of any unfriendly party. The clergyman occupied an elevated temporary pulpit, with his back to the wind. There were few or no males of any quality or distinction, for such persons could not escape detection, and were liable to ruin from the consequences. But many women of good condition, and holding the rank of ladies, ventured to attend the forbidden meeting, and were allowed to sit in front of the assembly. Their side-saddles were placed on the

ground to serve for seats, and their horses were *tethered*, or piqueted, as it is called, in the rear of the congregation. Before the females, and in the interval which divided them from the tent, or temporary pulpit, the arms of the men present, pikes, swords, and muskets, were regularly piled in such order as is used by soldiers, so that each man might in an instant assume his own weapons. When scenes of such a kind were repeatedly to be seen in different parts of the country, and while the Government relaxed none of that rigour which had thrown the nation into such a state, it was clear that a civil war could not be far distant.

It was in the autumn of 1666 that the severities of Sir James Turner, already alluded to, seem to have driven the Presbyterians of the west into a species of despair, which broke out into insurrection. Some accounts say, that a party of peasants having used force to deliver an indigent old man, whom a guard of soldiers, having pinioned and stretched upon the ground, were dragging to prison, in order to compel payment of a church fine, they reflected upon the penalties they had incurred by such an exploit, and resolved to continue in arms, and to set the Government at defiance. Another account affirms, that the poor people were encouraged to take up arms by an unknown person, calling himself Captain Gray, and pretending to have orders to call them out from superior persons, whom he did not name. By what means soever they were first raised, they soon assembled a number of peasants, and marched to Dumfries with such ra-

pidity, that they surprised Sir James Turner in his lodgings, and seized on his papers and his money. Captain Gray took possession of the money, and left the party, never to rejoin them; having, it is probable, discharged his task, when he had hurried these poor ignorant men into such a dangerous mutiny. Whether he was employed by some hot-headed Presbyterian, who thought the time favourable for a rising against the prelates, or whether by Government themselves, desirous of encouraging an insurrection which, when put down, might afford a crop of fines and forfeitures, cannot now be known.[1]

The country gentlemen stood on their guard, and none of them joined the insurgents; but a few of the most violent of the Presbyterian ministers took part with them. Two officers of low rank were chosen to command so great an undertaking; their names were Wallace and Learmont. They held council together, whether they should put Sir James Turner to death or not; but he represented to them that, severe as they might think him, he had been much less so than his commission and instructions required and authorized; and as, upon examining his papers, he was found to have spoken the truth, his life was spared, and he was carried with them as a prisoner or hostage. Being an experienced soldier, he wondered to see the accurate obedience of these poor countrymen, the excellent order in which they marched, and their attention to

[1] [Kirkton says, "one Andrew Gray, ane Edinburgh merchant, who immediately deserted them."—P. 232.]

the duties of outposts and sentinels. But, probably, no peasant of Europe is sooner able to adapt himself to military discipline than a native of Scotland, who is usually prudent enough to consider, that it is only mutual co-operation and compliance with orders which can make numbers effectual.

When they had attained their greatest strength, and had assembled at Lanark, after two or three days' wandering, the insurgents might amount to three thousand men. They there issued a declaration, which bore that they acknowledged the King's authority, and that the arms which they had assumed were only to be used in self-defence. But as, at the same time, they renewed the Covenant, of which the principal object was, not to obtain for Presbytery a mere toleration, but a triumphant superiority, they would probably, as is usual in such cases, have extended or restricted their objects as success or disaster attended their enterprise.

Mean time, General Dalziel, commonly called Tom Dalziel, a remarkable personage of those times, had marched from Edinburgh at the head of a small body of regular forces, summoning all the lieges to join him, on pain of being accounted traitors. Dalziel had been bred in the Russian wars, after having served under Montrose. He was an enthusiastic Royalist, and would never shave his beard after the King's death. His dress was otherwise so different from what was then the mode, that Charles the Second used to accuse him of a plan to draw crowds of children together, that they might squeeze each other to death while they gazed

on his singular countenance and attire.[1] He was a man of a fierce and passionate temper, as appears from his once striking a prisoner on the face, with the hilt of his dagger, till the blood sprung;—an unmanly action, though he was provoked by the language of the man, who called the General "a Muscovian beast, who used to roast men."

This ferocious commander was advancing from Glasgow to Lanark, when he suddenly learned that the insurgents had given him the slip, and were in full march towards the capital. The poor men had been deceived into a belief that West Lothian was ready to rise in their favour, and that they had a large party of friends in the metropolis itself.

[1] ["Dalziel was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey-coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of K. Charles I. In my time, his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice a-year, and then only to kiss the King's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His usual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to and from the Court. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them, and let them know exactly at what hour he intended to return. In compliance with his Majesty, he went once to court in the very height of the fashion; but as soon as the King and those about him laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he re-assumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his court dress."—CAPT. CREICHTON'S *Memoirs, in Swift's Works*, vol. xii. pp. 60, 61.]

Under these false hopes, they approached as far as Colinton, within four miles of Edinburgh. Here they learned that the city was fortified, and cannon placed before the gates; that the College of Justice, which can always furnish a large body of serviceable men, was under arms, and, as their informer expressed it, every advocate in his bandaliers.[1] They learned at the same time, that their own depressed party within the town had not the least opportunity or purpose of rising.

Discouraged with these news, and with the defection of many of their army,—for their numbers were reduced to eight or nine hundred, dispirited and exhausted by want, disappointment, and fatigue —Learmont and Wallace drew back their diminished forces to the eastern shoulder of the Pentland Hills, and encamped on an eminence called Rullion Green. They had reposed themselves for some hours, when, towards evening, they observed a body of horse coming through the mountains, by a pass leading from the west. At first the Covenanters entertained the flattering dream that it was the expected reinforcement from West Lothian. But the standards and kettle-drums made it soon evident that it was the vanguard of Dalziel's troops, which, having kept the opposite skirts of the Pentland ridge till they passed the village of Currie, had there learned the situation of the insurgents, and

[1] ["The bandalier was a small wooden case covered with leather, containing a charge of powder for a musket; twelve generally hung on the same shoulder belt."]

moved eastward in quest of them by a road through the hills.

Dalziel instantly led his men to the assault. The insurgents behaved with courage. They twice repulsed the attack of the Royalists. But it was renewed by a large force of cavalry on the insurgents' right wing, which bore down and scattered a handful of wearied horse who were there posted, and broke the ranks of the infantry. The slaughter in the field and in the chase was very small, not exceeding fifty men, and only a hundred and thirty were made prisoners. The King's cavalry, being composed chiefly of gentlemen, pitied their unfortunate countrymen, and made little slaughter; but many were intercepted and slain by the country people in the neighbourhood, who were unfriendly to their cause, and had sustained some pillage from their detached parties.

28th Nov. 1666.

About twenty of the prisoners were executed at Edinburgh as rebels, many of them being put to the torture. This was practised in various ways —sometimes by squeezing the fingers with screws called thumbikins, sometimes by the *boot*, a species of punishment peculiar to Scotland. It consisted in placing the leg of the unfortunate person in a very strong wooden case, called a Boot, and driving down wedges between his knee and the frame, by which the limb was often crushed and broken.

But though these horrid cruelties could tear the flesh and crush the bones of the unfortunate victims, they could not abate their courage. Triumph-

ing in the cause for which they died, they were seen at the place of execution contending which should be the first victim, while he who obtained the sad preference actually shouted for joy. Most of the sufferers, though very ignorant, expressed themselves with such energy on the subject of the principles for which they died, as had a strong effect on the multitude. But a youth, named Hugh M'Kail, comely in person, well educated, and of an enthusiastic character, acted the part of a martyr in its fullest extent. He had taken but a small share in the insurrection, but was chiefly obnoxious for a sermon, in which he had said, that the people of God had been persecuted by a Pharoah or an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church; words which were neither forgotten nor forgiven. He was subjected to extreme torture, in order to wring from him some information concerning the causes and purposes of the rising; but his leg was crushed most cruelly in the boot, without extracting from him a sigh or sound of impatience. Being then condemned to death, he spoke of his future state with a rapturous confidence, and took leave of the numerous spectators in the words of a dying saint, careless of his present suffering, and confident in his hopes of immortality.

"I shall speak no more with earthly creatures," he said, "but shall enjoy the aspect of the ineffable Creator himself.—Farewell, father, mother, and friends—farewell, sun, moon, and stars—farewell, perishable earthly delights—and welcome those

which are everlasting—welcome, glory—welcome, eternal life,—and welcome, death!" There was not a dry eye among the spectators of his execution, and it began to be perceived by the authors of these severities, that the last words and firm conduct of this dying man, made an impression on the populace the very reverse of what they desired. After this the superintendents of these executions resorted to the cruel expedient which had been practised when the Royalist followers of Montrose suffered, and caused trumpets to be sounded, and drums beaten, to drown the last words of these resolute men.

The vengeance taken for the Pentland rising was not confined to these executions in the capital. The shires of Galloway, Ayr,[1] and Dumfries, were subjected to military severities, and all who had the slightest connexion with the rebellion were rigorously harassed. A party of Ayrshire gentlemen had gathered together for the purpose of joining the insurgents, but had been prevented from doing so. They fled from the consequences of their rashness; yet they were not only arraigned, and doom of

[1] ["At Ayr the executioner fled from the town, because he would not murder the innocent; so the condemned had almost escaped if the provost had not invented this expedient, that one of the eight who were to suffer should have his life spared if he would execute the rest, which one of them agreed to do; but when the execution day came, lest he should have fainted, the provost caused fill him almost drunk with brandy."—KIRKTON, p. 252. For the extraordinary proceedings in the case of William Sutherland, executioner at Irvine, see KIRKTON, pp. 253–4.]

forfeiture passed against them in their absence, but, contrary to all legal usage, the sentence was put in execution without their being heard in their defence; and their estates were conferred upon General Dalziel, and General Drummond, or retained by the officers of state to enrich themselves.

But the period was now attained which Lauderdale aimed at. The violence of the government in Scotland at length attracted the notice of the English court; and, when enquired into, was found much too gross to be tolerated. The Primate Sharpe was ordered to withdraw from administration; Lauderdale, with Tweeddale, Sir Robert Murray, and the Earl of Kincardine, were placed at the head of affairs, and it was determined, by affording some relief to the oppressed Presbyterians, to try at least the experiment of lenity towards them.

Such of the ejected clergy as had not given any particular offence, were permitted to preach in vacant parishes, and even received some pecuniary encouragement from Government. This was termed the Indulgence. Had some such measure of toleration been adopted when Presbytery was first abolished, it might have been the means of preventing the frequency of conventicles; but, when resorted to in despair, as it were, of subduing them by violence, the mass of discontented Presbyterians regarded accession to the measure as a dishonourable accommodation with a government by whom they had been oppressed. It is true, the gentry, and those who at once preferred July, 1669.

Presbytery, and were unwilling to suffer in their worldly estate by that preference, embraced this opportunity to hear their favourite doctrines without risk of fine and imprisonment. The Indulged clergy were also men, for the most part, of wisdom and learning, who, being unable to vindicate the freedom and sovereignty of their church, were contented to preach to and instruct their congregations, and discharge their duty as clergymen, if not to the utmost, at least as far as the evil times permitted.

But this modified degree of zeal by no means gratified the more ardent and rigid Covenanters, by whom the stooping to act under the Indulgence was accounted a compromise with the Malignants —a lukewarm and unacceptable species of worship, resembling salt which had lost its savour. Many, therefore, held the indulged clergy as a species of king's curates ; and rather than listen to their doctrines, which they might have heard in safety, followed into the wilderness those bold and daring preachers, whose voices thundered forth avowed opposition and defiance against the mighty of the earth. The Indulged were accused of meanly adopting Erastian opinions, and acknowledging the dependence and subjection of the Church to the civil magistrate,—a doctrine totally alien from the character of the Presbyterian religion. The elevated wish of following the religion of their choice, in defiance of danger and fear, and their animosity against a government by whom they had been persecuted, induced the more zealous Presbyterians to prefer

a conventicle to their parish church; and a congregation where the hearers attended in arms to defend themselves, to a more peaceful meeting, when, if surprised, they might save themselves by submission or flight. Hence these conventicles became frequent, at which the hearers attended with weapons. The romantic and dangerous character of this species of worship recommended it to such as were constitutionally bold and high-spirited; and there were others, who, from the idle spirit belonging to youth, liked better to ramble through the country as the life-guard to some outlawed preacher, than to spend the six days of the week in ordinary labour, and attend their own parish-church on the seventh, to listen to the lukewarm doctrine of an Indulged minister.

From all these reasons, the number of armed conventicles increased; and Lauderdale, incensed at the failure of his experiment, increased his severity against them, while the Indulgence was withdrawn, as a measure inadequate to the intended purpose, though, perhaps, it chiefly failed for want of perseverance on the part of the Government.

As if Satan himself had suggested means of oppression, Lauderdale raked up out of oblivion the old and barbarous laws which had been adopted in the fiercest times, and directed them against the nonconformists, especially those who attended the field conventicles. One of those laws inflicted the highest penalties upon persons who were intercommuned, as it was called—that is, outlawed by legal sentence. The nearest relations were prohi-

bited from assisting each other, the wife the husband, the brother the brother, and the parent the son, if the sufferers had been intercommuned. The Government of this cruel time applied these ancient and barbarous statutes to the outlawed Presbyterians of the period, and thus drove them altogether from human society.[1] In danger, want, and necessity, the inhabitants of the wilderness, and expelled from civil intercourse, it is no wonder that we find many of these wanderers avowing principles and doctrines hostile to the government which oppressed them, and carrying their resistance beyond the bounds of mere self-defence. There were instances, though less numerous than might have been expected, of their attacking the houses of the curates, or of others by whose information they had been accused of nonconformity; and several deaths ensued in those enterprises, as well as in skirmishes with the military.

Superstitious notions also, the natural consequences of an uncertain, melancholy, and solitary life among the desolate glens and mountains,

[1] ["But years more gloomy followed; and no more
The assembled people dared, in face of day,
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
And thunder-peals compell'd the men of blood
To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell
By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful pastor's voice: he by the gleam
Of sheeted lightning oped the sacred book,
And words of comfort spake; over their souls
His accents soothing came."—GRAHAME.]

mingled with the intense enthusiasm of this persecuted sect. Their occasional successes over their oppressors, and their frequent escapes from the pursuit of the soldiery, when the marksmen missed their aim, or when a sudden mist concealed the fugitives, were imputed, not to the operation of those natural causes by means of which the Deity is pleased to govern the world, and which are the engines of his power, but to the direct interposition of a miraculous agency, over-ruling and suspending the laws of nature, as in the period of Scripture history.

Many of the preachers, led away by the strength of their devotional enthusiasm, conceived themselves to be the vehicles of prophecy, and poured out tremendous denunciations of future wars, and miseries more dreadful than those which they themselves sustained; and, as they imagined themselves to be occasionally under the miraculous protection of the heavenly powers, so they often thought themselves in a peculiar manner exposed to the envy and persecution of the spirits of darkness, who lamed their horses when they were pursued, betrayed their footsteps to the enemy, or terrified them by ghastly apparitions in the dreary caverns and recesses where they were compelled to hide themselves.

But especially the scattered Covenanters believed firmly, that their chief persecutors received from the Evil Spirit a proof against leaden bullets—a charm, that is, to prevent their being pierced or wounded by them. There were many supposed to be gifted with this necromantic privilege. In the

battle of Rullion Green, on the Pentland Hills, many of the Presbyterians were willing to believe that the balls were seen hopping like hailstones from Tom Dalziel's buff-coat and boots. Silver bullets were not supposed to be neutralized by the same spell; but that metal being scarce among the persecuted Covenanters, it did not afford them much relief.

I have heard of an English officer, however, who fell by baser metal. He was attacking a small house in Ayrshire, which was defended by some of the Wanderers. They were firing on both sides, when one of the defenders, in scarcity of ammunition, loaded his piece with the iron ball which formed the top of the fire-tongs, and taking aim at the officer with that charge, mortally wounded him whom lead had been unable to injure. It is also said, that the dying man asked to know the name of the place where he fell; and being told it was Caldens, or Caldons, he exclaimed against the Evil Spirit, who, he said, had told him he was to be slain among the Chaldeans, but who, as it now appeared, had deceived him, by cutting him off when his death was totally unexpected.

To John Graham of Claverhouse, a Scottish officer of high rank, who began to distinguish himself as a severe executer of the orders of the Privy Council against nonconformists, the Evil Spirit was supposed to have been still more liberal than to Dalziel, or to the Englishman who died at Caldons. He not only obtained proof against lead, but the devil is said to have presented him with a

black horse, which had not a single white hair upon its body. This horse, it was said, had been cut out of the belly of its dam, instead of being born in the usual manner. On this animal Claverhouse was supposed to perform the most unwonted feats of agility, flying almost like a bird along the sides of precipitous hills, and through pathless morasses, where an ordinary horse must have been smothered or dashed to pieces. It is even yet believed, that mounted on this steed, Claverhouse (or Clavers, as he is popularly called) once turned a hare on the mountain named the Brandlaw, at the head of Moffatdale, where no other horse could have kept its feet. But these exertions were usually made whilst he was in pursuit of the Wanderers, which was considered as Satan's own peculiar pleasing work.[1]

These superstitious notions were the natural consequences of the dreary and precarious existence to which these poor fugitives were condemned, and which induced them to view as miraculous whatever was extraordinary. The persons supposed to be proof against bullets, were only desperate and bold men, who had the good fortune to escape the dangers to which they fearlessly exposed themselves; and the equestrian exploits of Claverhouse, when stripped of exaggeration, were merely such as could be executed by any excellent horseman, and first-rate horse, to the amazement of those who were unaccustomed to witness feats of the kind.

[1] [See Notes "Claverhouse's Charger," and "Proof against shot."— *Waverley Novels*, vol. x. p. 140.]

The peculiar character and prejudices of the Covenanters are easily accounted for. Yet when it is considered that so many Scottish subjects were involved in the snares of these cruel laws, and liable to be prosecuted under them (the number is said to have reached eighteen or twenty thousand persons), it may seem wonderful that the Government could find a party in the kingdom to approve of and help forward measures as impolitic as they were cruel. But, besides the great command which the very worst government must always possess over those who look for advancement and employment under it, these things, it must be considered, took place shortly after the Royalists, the prevalent party at that time, had been themselves subjected to proscription, exile, judicial executions, and general massacre. The fate of Montrose and his followers, the massacres of Dunnavertie and Philiphaugh, above all, the murder of King Charles, had taken place during the predominance of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and were imputed, however unjustly, to their religious principles, which were believed by the Cavaliers to be inconsistent with law, loyalty, and good order. Under such mistaken sentiments, many of the late Royalist party lent their arms eagerly to suppress the adherents of a sect, to the pre-eminence of which they traced the general misery of the civil wars, and their own peculiar misfortunes.

Thus we find the Lady Methven of the day (a daughter of the house of Marischal, and wife of Patrick Smythe of Methven), interrupting a con-

venticle in person. A large meeting of this kind had assembled on the grounds of her husband, then absent in London, when the lady approached them at the head of about sixty followers and allies, she herself leading them on with a light-horseman's carabine ready cocked over her arm, and a drawn sword in the other hand. The congregation sent a party of a hundred armed men to demand her purpose, and the Amazonian lady protested, if they did not leave her husband's estate, it should be a bloody day. They replied, that they were determined to preach, whether she would or not; but Dame Anne Keith's unshaken determination overcame their enthusiasm, and at length compelled them to retreat. After this affair, she wrote to her husband that she was providing arms, and even two pieces of cannon, hearing that the Whigs had sworn to be revenged for the insult she had put on them. "If the fanatics," she concludes, "chance to kill me, comfort yourself it shall not be for nought. I was once wounded for our gracious King, and now, in the strength of Heaven, I will hazard my person with the men I can command, before these rebels rest where you have power." No doubt Lady Methven acted against these "vagueing gipsies," as she terms them, with as much honesty and sincerity of purpose, as they themselves entertained in resisting her.[1]

But the principal agents of government, in the persecution of these oppressed people, were the

[1] [See *ante*, Review of "Kirkton's Church History," vol. xix. pp. 270–272.]

soldiery, to whom, contrary to the rule in all civilized countries, unless in actual warfare, power was given to arrest, examine, detain, and imprison such persons as they should find in the wildernesses, which they daily ransacked to discover delinquents, whose persons might afford plunder, or their purses pay fines. One of these booted apostles, as the Presbyterians called the dragoons, Captain Creichton by name, has left his Memoirs, in which he rather exults in, than regrets, the scenes of rapine and violence he had witnessed, and the plunder which he collected. The following is one of his stories.

Being then a Life-guardsman, and quartered at Bathgate, he went out one Sunday on the moors with his comrade Grant, to try if they could discover any of the Wanderers. They were disguised like countrymen, in grey coats and bonnets. After eight or ten miles' walking, they descried three men on the top of a hill, whom they judged to be placed there as sentinels. They were armed with long poles. Taking precautions to come suddenly upon this outpost, Creichton snatched one of the men's poles from him, and asking what he meant by carrying such a pole on the Lord's day, immediately knocked him down. Grant secured another—the third fled to give the alarm, but Creichton overtook and surprised him also, though armed with a pistol at his belt. They were then guided onward to the conventicle by the voice of the preacher, Master John King (afterwards executed), which was so powerful, that Creichton professes he heard him distinctly at a quarter of

a mile's distance, the wind favouring his force of lungs.

The meeting was very numerously attended; nevertheless, the two troopers had the temerity to approach, and commanded them, in the King's name, to disperse. Immediately forty of the congregation arose in defence, and advanced upon the troopers, when Creichton, observing a handsome horse, with a lady's pillion on it, grazing near him, seized it, and leaping on its back, spurred through the morasses, allowing the animal to choose its own way. Grant, though on foot, kept up with his comrade for about a mile, and the whole conventicle followed in full hue and cry, in order to recover the palfrey, which belonged to a lady of distinction. When Grant was exhausted, Creichton gave him the horse in turn, and being both armed with sword and pistol, they forced their way through such of the conventiclers as attempted to intercept them,[1] and gained the house of a gentleman, whom Creichton calls Laird of Poddishaw.

[1] ["By this time," says Creichton, "we saw twelve Covenanters on horseback, who advanced to us by a shorter cut, and filled and blocked up a gap through which we were of necessity to pass. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues with my broadsword and pistol, soon forced them to open to the right and left. My comrade got through, and was pursued a good way; but he so laid about him with his broadsword, that the pursuers, being unarmed, durst not seize him. In the mean time I, who was left on foot, kept the Covenanters who followed me at a proper distance; but they pelted me with clods, which I sometimes returned; till at last, after chasing me above a mile they saw a party of troopers in red, passing by at some distance, and they gave over their pursuit."—SWIFT's *Works*, v. xii. p. 24.]

Here they met another gentleman of fortune, the Laird of Polkemmet, who, greatly to his disturbance, recognised, in the horse which the troopers had brought off, his own lady's nag, on which, without his knowledge as he affirmed, she had used the freedom to ride to the conventicle. He was now at the mercy of the Life-guardsmen, being liable to a heavy fine for his wife's delinquency, besides the forfeiture of the palfrey. In this dilemma, Mr Baillie of Polkemmet invited the Life-guardsmen to dine with him next day, and offered them the horse with its furniture, as a lawful prize. But Creichton, perceiving that the lady was weeping, very gallantly gave up his claim to the horse, on condition she would promise never to attend a conventicle again. The military gentlemen were no losers by this liberality; for as the lady mentioned the names of some wealthy persons who were present at the unlawful meeting, her husband gave the parties concerned to understand that they must make up a purse of hush-money, for the benefit of Creichton and his comrade, who lived plentifully for a twelvemonth afterwards on the sum thus obtained.

This story, though it shows the power intrusted to the soldiers, to beat and plunder the persons assembled for religious worship, is rather of a comic than a serious cast. But far different were the ordinary rencounters which took place between the Covenanters and the military. About forty or fifty years ago, melancholy tales of the strange escapes, hard encounters, and cruel exactions of

this period, were the usual subject of conversation at every cottage fireside; and the peasants, while they showed the caverns and dens of the earth in which the Wanderers concealed themselves, recounted how many of them died in resisting with arms in their hands, how many others were executed by judicial forms, and how many were shot to death without even the least pretence of a trial. The country people retained a strong sense of the injustice with which their ancestors had been treated, which showed itself in a singular prejudice. They expressed great dislike of that beautiful bird the Green-plover, in Scottish called the Pease-weep. The reason alleged was, that these birds being, by some instinct, led to attend to and watch any human beings whom they see in their native wilds, the soldiers were often guided in pursuit of the Wanderers, when they might otherwise have escaped observation, by the plover being observed to hover over a particular spot. For this reason, the shepherds, within my own remembrance, often destroyed the nests of this bird when they met with them.

A still sadder memorial of those calamitous days was the number of headstones and other simple monuments which, after the Revolution, were erected over the graves of the persons thus destroyed, and which usually bore, along with some lines of rude poetry, an account of the manner in which they had been slain.

These mortal resting-places of the victims of persecution were held so sacred, that about forty

years since an aged man dedicated his life to travel through Scotland, for the purpose of repairing and clearing the tombs of the sufferers. He always rode upon a white pony, and from that circumstance, and the peculiarity of his appearance and occupation, acquired the nickname of Old Mortality.[1] In later days, the events of our own time have been of such an engrossing character, that this species of traditional history is much forgotten, and moss and weeds are generally suffered to conceal the monuments of the martyrs.

[1] [See the Author's Introduction (1830) to his tale of *Old Mortality*.]

CHAPTER LI.

Duke of Lauderdale's Administration — Descent of the Highland Host — Writs of Law-burrows on behalf of the King taken out against the Gentlemen of the West — Trial and Execution of Mitchell, for Assassinating Honeyman, Bishop of the Orkneys — Murder of Archbishop Sharpe — the Nonconformists take up arms in the West — Defeat of Claverhouse at Drumclog — The Duke of Monmouth sent to Scotland to suppress the Insurrection — Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

[1678—1679.]

We have said before, that Lauderdale, now the Chief Minister for Scotland, had not originally approved of the violent measures taken with the nonconformists, and had even recommended a more lenient mode of proceeding, by granting a toleration, or Indulgence, as it was called, for the free exercise of the Presbyterian religion. But being too impatient to wait the issue of his own experiment, and fearful of being represented as lukewarm in the King's service, he at length imitated and even exceeded Middleton, in his extreme severities against the nonconformists.

The Duke of Lauderdale, for to that rank he was raised when the government was chiefly intrusted to him, married Lady Dysart, a woman of

considerable talent, but of inordinate ambition, boundless expense, and the most unscrupulous rapacity. Her influence over her husband was extreme, and, unhappily, was of a kind which encouraged him in his greatest errors. In order to supply her extravagance, he had recourse to the public fines for nonconformity, church penalties, and so forth, prosecutions for which, with the other violent proceedings we have noticed, were pushed on to such an extremity as to induce a general opinion, that Lauderdale really meant to drive the people of Scotland to a rebellion, in order that he himself might profit by the confiscations which must follow on its being subdued.[1]

[1] ["The revenues of Scotland were engrossed and wasted by Lauderdale and his friends. The parliament was prolonged above four years, that he might enjoy the emoluments and rank of commissioner; and his revenues during his abode in Scotland, exceeded those of its ancient kings. His salary was sixteen thousand pounds sterling; the donations which he obtained, twenty-six thousand; but the annual revenuesof the crown, the surplus revenue accumulated by Murray, and an assessment of seventy-two thousand pounds, were insufficient to support his profusion, and disappeared in his hands. But the most lucrative and oppressive sources of extortion were the penalties and compositions for attending conventicles, of which it is impossible to estimate the amount. On one occasion two gentlemen compounded for fifteen hundred pounds. Thirty thousand pounds were imposed on ten gentlemen, nor these the most considerable, in the shire of Renfrew. Injustice was aggravated by the insolence of Lauderdale, whose unfeeling jests insulted such as compounded for their fines. The penalties of non-conformity within particular districts were farmed out or assigned to his dependents. Nineteen hundred pounds sterling were exacted by Athol, the Justice-general, for his own behoof, in a single week; and the estates of those who withdrew from Lauderdale's rage and insolence were plundered and wasted by gifts of escheat."—LAING, vol. ii. pp. 459-60.]

The Scottish nobility and gentry were too wise to be caught in this snare; but although they expressed the utmost loyalty to the King, yet many, with the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of Scotland, at their head, remonstrated against courses which, while they beggared the tenantry, impoverished the gentry and ruined their estates. By way of answer to their expostulations, the western landholders were required to enter into bonds, under the same penalties which were incurred by those who were actual delinquents, that neither they nor their families, nor their vassals, tenants, or other persons residing on their property, should withdraw from church, attend conventicles, or relieve intercommuned persons. The gentry refused to execute these bonds. They admitted that conventicles were become very frequent, and expressed their willingness to assist the officers of the law in suppressing them; but, as they could exercise no forcible control over their tenants and servants, they declined to render themselves responsible for their conformity. Finally, they recommended a general indulgence, as the only measure which promised the restoration of tranquillity.

Both parties, at that unhappy period (1678), were in the habit of imputing their enemies' measures to the suggestions of Satan; but that adopted by Lauderdale, upon the western gentlemen's refusing the bond,[1] had really some appearance of

[1] ["Upon their refusing this, Duke Lauderdale writ to the King, that the country was in a state of rebellion, and that it

being composed under the absolute dictation of an evil spirit. He determined to treat the whole west country as if in a state of actual revolt. He caused not only a body of the guards and militia, with field artillery, to march into the devoted districts, but invited, for the same purpose, from the Highland mountains, the clans by which they were inhabited. These wild mountaineers descended under their different chiefs, speaking an unknown language, and displaying to the inhabitants of the Lowlands, their strange attire, obsolete arms, and singular manners. The clans were surprised in their turn. They had come out expecting to fight, when, to their astonishment, they found an innocent, peaceful, and unresisting country, in which they were to enjoy free quarters, and full license for plunder. It may be supposed, that such an invitation to men, to whom marauding habits were natural, offered opportunities not to be lost, and accordingly the western counties long had occasion to lament the inroad of the Highland Host. A committee of the Privy Council, most of whom were themselves chiefs of clans, or commanders in the army, attended to secure the submission of the gentry, and enforce the bonds. But the noblemen and gentry continuing obstinate in their refusal to come under obligations which they had no means of fulfilling, the Privy Council issued orders to disarm the whole

was necessary to proceed to hostilities for reducing them. So by a letter, such as he sent up, the King left it to him and the Council to take care of the public peace in the best way they could."—BURNET'S *History of his own Times.*]

inhabitants of the country, taking even the gentlemen's swords, riding horses, and furniture, and proceeding with such extreme rigour, that the Earl of Cassilis, among others, prayed they would either afford him the protection of soldiers, or return him some of his arms to defend his household, since otherwise he must be subject to the insolence and outrages of the most paltry of the rabble.

To supply the place of the bonds, which were subscribed by few or none, this unhappy Privy Council fell upon a plan, by a new decree, of a nature equally oppressive. There was, and is, a writ in Scotland, called *lawburrows*, by which a man who is afraid of violence from his neighbour, upon making oath to the circumstances affording ground for such apprehension, may have the party bound over to keep the peace, under security. Of this useful law, a most oppressive application was now made. The King was made to apply for a lawburrows throughout a certain district of his dominions, against all the gentlemen who had refused to sign the bond; and thus an attempt was made to extort security from every man so situated, as one of whom the King had a natural right to entertain well-founded apprehensions![1]

These extraordinary provisions of law seem to

[1] ["A government swearing the peace against its subjects was a new spectacle; *but if a private subject, under fear of another, hath a right to such a security, how much more the government itself?* was thought an unanswerable argument. Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory."—Fox's *Hist. of James II.* p. 119.]

have driven, not the Presbyterians alone, but the whole country of the west, into absolute despair.

No supplication or remonstrance had the least effect on the impenetrable Lauderdale. When he was told that the oppression of the Highlanders and of the soldiery would totally interrupt the produce of agriculture, he replied, "it were better that the west bore nothing but windle-straws and sandy-laverocks,[1] than that it should bear rebels to the King."[2] In their despair, the suffering parties determined to lay their complaints against the Minister before the King in person. With this purpose, not less than fourteen peers, and fifteen gentlemen, of whom many were threatened with writs of lawburrows, repaired to London, to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne. This journey was taken in spite of an arbitrary order, by which the Scottish nobility had been forbidden, in the King's name, either to approach the King's person, or to leave their own kingdom; as if it had

[1] Dog's grass and sea-larks.

[2] ["These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion; which they thought would be soon quashed, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke Lauderdale's party depended so much on this that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them; so that on Valentine's day, instead of drawing mistresses, they drew estates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection: and they were as much dejected, when they knew it was false. It was happy for the public peace, that the people were universally possessed with this opinion: for when they saw a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly, than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that."—BURNET, vol. ii. p. 135.]

been the purpose to chain them to the stake, like baited bears, without the power of applying for redress, or escaping from the general misery.

Lauderdale had so much interest at court, as to support himself against this accusation, by representing to the King that it was his object to maintain a large army in Scotland, to afford assistance when his Majesty should see it time to extend his authority in England. He retained his place, therefore, and the supplicants were sent from court in disgrace.[1] But their mission had produced some beneficial effects, for the measures concerning the lawburrows and the enforced bonds were withdrawn, and orders given for removing the Highlanders from the west countries, and disbanding the militia.

When the Highlanders went back to their hills, which was in February 1678, they appeared as if returning from the sack of some besieged town. They carried with them plate, merchant-goods, webs of linen and of cloth, quantities of wearing apparel, and household furniture, and a good number of horses to bear their plunder. It is, however, remarkable, and to the credit of this people, that they are not charged with any cruelty during three months' residence at free-quarters, although they were greedy of spoil, and rapacious in extorting

[1] [" It is reported that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scottish affairs, said, ' I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland ; but I cannot find that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest ;' a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign."—HUME.]

money. Indeed, it seems probable, that, after all, the wild Highlanders had proved gentler than was expected, or wished, by those who employed them.

An event now occurred, one of the most remarkable of the time, which had a great effect upon public affairs, and the general feeling of the nation. This was the murder of James Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland. This person, you must remember, having been the agent of the Presbyterians at the time of the Restoration, had, as was generally thought, betrayed his constituents; at least he had certainly changed his principles, and accepted the highest office in the new Episcopal establishment. It may be well supposed that a person so much hated as he was, from his desertion of the old cause, and violence in the new, was the object of general hostility, and that amongst a sect so enthusiastic as the nonconformists, some one should be found to exercise judgment upon him —in other words, to take his life.

The avenger, who first conceived himself called to this task, was one Mitchell, a fanatical preacher, of moderate talents and a heated imagination. He fired a pistol, loaded with three bullets, into the coach of the Archbishop, and missing the object of his aim, broke the arm of Honeyman, Bishop of the Orkneys, who sat with Sharpe in the carriage, of which wound he never entirely recovered, though he lingered for some years. The assassin escaped during the confusion. This was in 1668, and in 1674 the Archbishop again observed a man who

seemed to watch him, and whose face was imprinted upon his mind. The alarm was given, and Mitchell was seized. Being closely examined by the Lords of the Privy Council, he at first absolutely denied the act charged against him. But to the Chancellor he confessed in private—having at first received a solemn promise that his life should be safe—that he had fired the shot which wounded the Bishop of Orkney. After this compromise, the assassin's trial was put off from time to time, from the determined desire to take the life which had been promised to him. In order to find matter against Mitchell, he was examined concerning his accession to the insurrection of Pentland; and as he refused to confess any thing which should make against himself, he was appointed to undergo the torture of the boot.

He behaved with great courage when the frightful apparatus was produced, and not knowing, as he said, that he could escape such torture with life, declared that he forgave from his heart those at whose command it was to be inflicted, the men appointed to be the agents of their cruelty, and those who satiated their malevolence by looking on as spectators. When the executioner demanded which leg should be enclosed in the dreadful boot, the prisoner, with the same confidence, stretched out his right leg, saying, "take the best; I willingly bestow it in this cause." He endured nine blows of the mallet with the utmost firmness, each more severely crushing the limb. At the ninth blow he fainted, and was remanded to prison. After this he was

sent to the Bass, a desolate islet, or rather rock, in the Frith of Forth, where was a strong castle then occupied as a state prison.

On the 7th January, 1678, ten years after the deed was committed, and four years after he was made prisoner, Mitchell was finally brought to his trial; and while his own confession was produced against him as evidence, he was not allowed to plead the promise of life upon which he had been induced to make the fatal avowal. It is shameful to be obliged to add, that the Duke of Lauderdale would not permit the records of the Privy Council to be produced, and that some of the privy counsellors swore, that no assurance of life had been granted, although it had been accurately entered, and is now to be seen on the record. The unfortunate man was therefore condemned. Lauderdale, it is said, would have saved his life; but the Archbishop demanding his execution as necessary to guard the lives of privy counsellors from such attempts in future, the Duke gave up the cause with a profane and brutal jest, and the man was executed, with more disgrace to his judges than to himself, the consideration of his guilt being lost in the infamous manœuvres used in bringing him to punishment.[1] 18th Jan. 1678.

[1] ["" Upon Mitchell's examination, 'he being asked what induced him to make so wicked an attempt upon the person of the Archbishop, replied, that he did it for the glory of the Lord;' for this reason afterward, when it was resolved to hang him, the Duke said, 'Let Mitchell glorify God in the Grassmarket,'" (the place of execution.)—*Note from* HIGGONS' *Remarks*, ap. BURNET, vol. ii. p. 131.]

I have already said, that in the commencement of Lauderdale's administration, Archbishop Sharpe was removed from public affairs. But this did not last long, as the Duke found that he could not maintain his interest at court without the support of the Episcopal party. The primate's violence of disposition was supposed to have greatly influenced the whole of Lauderdale's latter government. But in Fife, where he had his archiepiscopal residence, it was most severely felt; and as the nonconformists of that county were fierce and enthusiastic in proportion to the extremity of persecution which they underwent, there was soon found a band among them who sent abroad an anonymous placard, threatening that any person who might be accessary to the troubles inflicted upon the Whigs in that county, should be suitably punished by a party strong enough to set resistance at defiance.

The chief person among these desperate men was David Hackston of Rathillet, a gentleman of family and fortune. He had been a free liver in his youth, but latterly had adopted strong and enthusiastic views of religion, which led him into the extreme opinions entertained by the fiercest of the Whig party.[1] John Balfour of Kinloch, called Burley, the brother-in-law of Hackston, is described, by a covenanting author, as a little man

[1] ["He is said in his younger years to have been without the least sense of any thing religious, until it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to induce him to go out and attend the gospel, then preached in the fields."—*Scots Worthies.*]

of stern aspect, and squint-eyed; none of the most religious,[1] but very willing to engage in any battles or quarrels which his comrades found it necessary to sustain. He was at this time in danger from the law, on account of a late affray, in which he had severely wounded one of the life-guards. It is alleged that both these persons had private enmity at Archbishop Sharpe. Balfour had been his factor in the management of some property, and had failed to give account of the money he had received, and Hackston, being bail for his brother-in-law, was thrown into jail till the debt was made good. The remainder of the band were either small proprietors of land, or portioners, as they are called in Scotland, or mechanics, such as weavers and the like.

These enthusiasts, to the number of nine, were out, and in arms, on 3d May, 1679, with the purpose of assaulting (in the terms of their proclamation) one Carmichael, who acted as a commissioner for receiving the fines of the nonconformists.[2] This person had indeed been in the fields hunting that morning, but chancing to hear that there was such a party looking out for him, he left his sport and went home.

1 [Scots Worthies.]

2 [" Carmichael was peculiarly noted for his cruelties in Fife. If we may believe his enemies, he was accustomed, among other enormities, to beat and abuse the women and children, and to torture the servants with lighted matches, to discover where their husbands, their fathers, or masters, were concealed."—LAING, vol. ii. p. 87. *Account of the murder of Sharpe, by James Russell, an actor therein*, ap. KIRKTON, p. 404.]

When Rathillet and his friends were about to disperse, in sullen disappointment, the wife of a farmer at Baldinny sent a lad to tell them, that the Archbishop's coach was upon the road returning from Ceres towards St Andrews. The conspirators were in that mood when our own wishes and thoughts, strongly fostered and cherished, are apt to seem to us like inspiration from above. Balfour, or Burley, affirmed he had felt a preternatural impulse forcing him to return to Fife, when it was his purpose to have gone to the Highlands, and that on going to prayers, he had been confirmed by the Scripture text, "Go, have not I sent thee?" Russell, another of the party, also affirmed he had been long impressed with the idea that some great enemy to the church was to be cut off, and spoke of some text about Nero, which assuredly does not exist in Scripture.

They all agreed, in short, that the opportunity offered was the work of Heaven; that they should not draw back, but go on; and that, instead of the inferior agent, for whom they had been seeking in vain, it was their duty to cut off the prime source of the persecution, whom heaven had delivered into their hands. This being determined upon, the band chose Hackston for their leader; but he declined the office, alleging, that the known quarrel betwixt him and the Archbishop would mar the glory of the action, and cause it to be imputed to private revenge. But he added, with nice distinction, that he would remain with them, and would not interfere to prevent what they felt themselves

called upon to do. Upon this Balfour said, "Gentlemen, follow me."

They then set off at speed in pursuit of the carriage, which was driving along a desolate heath, about three or four miles from St Andrews, called Magus-Moor.[1] Fleming and Russell, two of the assassins, rode into a farm-yard, and demanded of the tenant, If the equipage on the road before them was the Archbishop's coach? Guessing their purpose, he was too much frightened to answer; but one of the female servants came out and assured them with much appearance of joy, that they were on the right scent. The whole party then threw away their cloaks, and pursued as fast as they could gallop, firing their carabines on the carriage, and crying out "Judas, be taken!" The coachman drove rapidly, on seeing they were pursued by armed men; but a heavy coach on a rugged road could not outstrip horsemen. The servants who attended the carriage offered some resistance, but were dismounted and disarmed by the pursuers. Having come up with the carriage, they stopped it by cutting the traces, and wounding the postilion; and then fired a volley of balls into the coach, where the archbishop was seated with his daughter. This proving ineffectual, they commanded the prelate to come forth, and prepare for death, judgment, and eternity. The old man came out of the coach, and creeping on his knees towards Hackston, said, "I know you are a gentleman—you will protect me?"

[1] [The precise spot of Sharpe's death is now enclosed in a plantation, about three miles to the west of St Andrews.]

"I will never lay a hand upon you," said Hackston, turning away from the suppliant.

One man of the party, touched with some compassion, said, "Spare his grey hairs."

But the rest of the assassins were unmoved. One or two pistols were discharged at the prostrate Archbishop without effect; when conceiving, according to their superstitious notion, that their victim was possessed of a charm against gun-shot, they drew their swords, and killed him with many wounds, dashing even his skull to pieces, and scooping out his brains. The lady,[1] who made vain attempts to throw herself between her father and the swords of the assassins, received one or two wounds in the scuffle. They rifled the coach of such arms and papers as it contained. They found some trinkets, which they conceived were magical; and also, as they pretended, a bee in a box, which they concluded was a familiar spirit.

Such was the progress and termination of a violent and wicked deed, committed by blinded and desperate men. It brought much scandal on the Presbyterians, though unjustly; for the moderate persons of that persuasion, comprehending the most numerous, and by far the most respectable of the body, disowned so cruel an action, although they might be at the same time of opinion, that the Archbishop, who had been the cause of violent death to many, merited some such termination to his own

[1] [Isabella, the Archbishop's eldest daughter, was afterwards married to John Cunningham, Esq. of Barns, in the county of Fife.]

existence. He had some virtues, being learned, temperate, and living a life becoming his station; but his illiberal and intolerant principles, and the violences which he committed to enforce them, were the cause of great distress to Scotland, and of his own premature and bloody end.

The Scottish Government, which the Archbishop's death had alarmed and irritated in the highest degree, used the utmost exertions to apprehend his murderers; and failing that, to disperse and subdue, by an extremity of violence greater than what had been hitherto employed, every assembly of armed Covenanters. All attendance upon field-conventicles was declared treason; new troops were raised, and the strictest orders sent to the commanding officers to act against nonconformists with the utmost rigour. On the other hand, the intercommuned persons, now grown desperate, assembled in more numerous and better armed parties, and many of them showed a general purpose of defiance and rebellion against the King's authority, which the moderate party continued to acknowledge, as being that of the supreme civil magistrate. These circumstances soon led to a crisis.

Several of the murderers of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews found their way, through great dangers, to the west of Scotland; and their own interest, doubtless, induced them to use such influence as they had acquired among the zealots of their sect by their late action, to bring matters to extremity.

Hackston, Balfour, and others, seem to have held council with Donald Cargill, one of the most noted of the preachers at conventicles, and particularly with Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Prestonfield;[1] in consequence of which they appeared at the head of eighty horse, in the little burgh of Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, appointed to be held as a holiday, as the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles II. They quenched the bonfires, which had been kindled on account of this solemnity, and, drawing up in order at the market-cross, after prayer, and singing part of a psalm, they formally entered their protest, or testimony, as they called it, against the acts abolishing Presbytery, and establishing Episcopacy, together with the other defections of the time, all of which they renounced and disclaimed. After this bravado, they affixed a copy of their testimony to the cross, closed their meeting with prayer, and then evacuated the town at their leisure, Hamilton harbouring the Fife gentlemen, that is, those who had killed the Archbishop.

We have already mentioned John Graham of Claverhouse as a distinguished officer, who had been singularly active against the nonconformists. He was now lying in garrison at Glasgow, and on the first of June, drew out his own troop of dra-

[1] ["Hamilton had been bred by Bishop Burnet, while the latter lived at Glasgow, his brother, Sir Thomas, having married a sister of that historian. 'He was then,' says the bishop, 'a lively hopeful young man; but getting into that company and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthusiast.'"—*Note, Old Mortality.*]

goons, with such other cavalry as he could hastily add to it, and set off in quest of the insurgents who had offered such a public affront to Government.

In the town of Hamilton he made prisoner John King, a preacher, and with him seventeen countrymen who were attending on his ministry; and hearing of a larger assembly of insurgents who were at Loudon-hill, a short distance off, he pushed forward to that place. Here Claverhouse was opposed by a large body in point of numbers, but very indifferently armed, though there were about fifty horse tolerably appointed, as many infantry with guns, and a number of men armed with scythes, forks, pikes, and halberds. The immediate spot on which the parties met was called Drumclog.[1] It is a boggy piece of ground, unfit for the acting of cavalry, and a broad drain, or ditch, seems also to have given the insurgents considerable advantage. A short but warm engagement ensued, during which Balfour, and William Cleland, to be afterwards mentioned, crossed the ditch boldly, and outflanking the dragoons, compelled them to fly. About thirty of the defeated party were slain, or died of their wounds. An officer of the name of Graham, a kinsman of Claverhouse, was among the slain. His body, mistaken, it is reported, for that of his namesake, was pitifully mangled. Claverhouse's own horse was laid open by the blow of a scythe, and was scarcely able to bear him off the field of battle. As he passed the place where he

[1] [The spot is a mile westward of the road from Kilmarnock to Strathaven, and about five miles from the last named town.]

had left his prisoners, King, the preacher, when he beheld his captor in this pitiful plight, hollo'd out to him to stay and take the afternoon sermon. Some Royalist prisoners were taken, to whom quarter was given, and they were dismissed. This clemency on the part of his soldiers, greatly disgusted Mr Hamilton, who now assumed the command of the insurgents. To show a good example, he killed one of the defenceless captives with his own hand, lenity being, according to his exaggerated ideas, the setting free the brats of Babel, after they had been delivered into their hands, that they might dash them to the stones. The insurgents lost only five or six men; one of whom, named Dingwall, had assisted at the murder of the Archbishop.

After having gained this victory, the insurgents resolved to keep the field, and take such future fortune as Heaven should send them. They marched to Hamilton after the action, and the next day, strongly reinforced by the numbers which joined them on all sides, they proceeded to attack the town of Glasgow.

The city was defended by Lord Ross and Claverhouse, with a small but regular force. The insurgents penetrated into the town from two points, one column advancing up the Gallowgate, the other entering by the College and the Wynd Head. But Claverhouse, who commanded the King's troops, had formed a barricade about the cross, Townhouse, and Tolbooth, so that the Whigs, in marching to the attack, were received with a fire which they could not sustain, from an enemy who lay

sheltered and in safety.[1] But although they were beaten for the present, the numbers of the insurgents begnn to increase so much, that Ross and Claverhouse judged it necessary to evacuate Glasgow, and march eastward, leaving all the west of Scotland at the mercy of the rebels, whose nnmbers speedily amounted to five or six thousand men. There were among them, however, very few gentlemen, or persons of influence, whose presence might have prevented them from falling into the state of disunion to which, owing to the following circumstances, they were speedily reduced. They erected a huge tall gallows in the centre of their camp for the execution of such enemies as they should make prisoners, and hanged upon it at least one citizen of Glasgow, who had joined in the defence of the town against their former attack. Bnt this vindictive mode of proceeding did not meet with general approbation in their army.

The discord was now at its height between the moderate Presbyterians, who were willing to own the King's government, under the condition of ob-

[1] ["The Broad Street," says Captain Creichton, "was immediately full of the party who had entered by the Gallowgate, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their assistance, were valiantly received by Clavers and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars that composed the barricade, chased them out of the town; but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party, which by that time was marching down by the High Church and College; but when they came within pistol-shot, were likewise fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the King's party lost not so much as one man."—*Swift*, vol. xii. p. 33.]

taining freedom of conscience; and the more hot-headed and furious partisans, who would entertain no friendship or fellowship with those who owned and supported prelacy, and who held the acknowledging the Government, or the listening to the preachers who ministered by their indulgence or connivance, as a foul compromising of the cause of Presbytery, and professed it their object to accomplish a complete revolution in Church and State, and render the kirk as triumphant as it had been in 1640.

The preachers likewise differed amongst themselves. Mr John Welsh, much famed for his zeal for Presbytery, together with Mr David Hume, headed the Moderate, or, as it was called by their opponents, the Erastian party; whilst Donald Cargill, Thomas Douglass, and John King, espoused with all ardour the more extravagant purposes, which nothing short of a miracle could have enabled them to accomplish. These champions of the two parties preached against each other from the pulpit, harangued and voted on different sides in councils of war, and had not the sense to agree, or even to adjourn their disputes, when they heard that the forces of both England and Scotland were collecting to march against their undisciplined army, ill-provided as it was with arms, and at variance concerning the causes which had brought them into the field.

While the insurgents were thus quarrelling among themselves and incapable of taking any care of their common cause, the Privy Council

ordered out the militia, and summoned to arms the vassals of the Crown; many of whom, being inclined to Presbytery, came forth with no small reluctance. The Highland chiefs who lay near the scene of action, were also ordered to attend the King's host with their followers.

But when the news of the insurrection reached London, Charles II., employing for a season his own good judgment, which he too often yielded to the management of others, seems to have formed an idea of conciliating the rebels, as well as of subduing them. For this purpose, he sent to Scotland, as commander-in-chief, his natural son, James, Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a large body of the royal guards. This young nobleman was the King's favourite, both from the extreme beauty of his person, and the amiableness of his disposition. Charles had taken care of his fortune, by uniting him with the heiress of the great family of Buccleuch, whose large estates are still enjoyed by their descendants. Wealthy, popular, and his father's favourite, the Duke of Monmouth had been encouraged to oppose his own court influence to that of the King's brother, the Duke of York; and as the latter had declared himself a Roman Catholic, so Monmouth, to mark the distinction betwixt them, was supposed to be favourable to Presbyterians, as well as dissenters of any sect, and was popularly called the Protestant Duke. It was naturally supposed that, having such inclinations, he was intrusted with some powers favourable to the insurgents.

These unfortunate persons having spent a great deal of time in debating on church polemics, lost sight of the necessity of disciplining their army, or supplying it with provisions, and were still lying in the vicinity of the town of Hamilton, while numbers, despairing of their success, were every day deserting them. On the 21st of June, they were alarmed by the intelligence that the Duke of Monmouth was advancing at the head of a well-disciplined army. This did not recall them to their senses; they held a council, indeed, but it was only to engage in a furious debate, which lasted until Rathillet told them his sword was drawn, as well against those who accepted the Indulgence, as against the curates, and withdrew from the council after this defiance, followed by those who professed his principles.

The moderate party, thus left to themselves, drew up a supplication to the Duke of Monmouth, and after describing their intolerable grievances, declared that they were willing to submit all controversies to a free Parliament, and a free assembly of the Church.

The Duke, in reply, expressed compassion for their condition, and a wish to alleviate it by his intercession with the King, but declared, they must in the interim lay down their arms. When they received this message, the insurgent troops were in the greatest disorder, the violent party having chosen this unfortunate moment for cashiering the officers whom they had formerly appointed, and nominating others who had no taint of Erastianism or

Malignity; in other words, no disposition to acknowledge any allegiance to the King, or submission to the civil power. While they were thus employed, the troops of Monmouth appeared in sight.

The insurgents were well posted for defence. They had in front the Clyde, a deep river, not easily fordable, and only to be crossed by Bothwell bridge, which gives name to the battle. This is (or rather was, for though it still exists, it is now much altered) a high, steep, and narrow bridge, having a portal, or gateway, in the centre, which the insurgents had shut and barricaded. About three hundred men were stationed to defend this important pass, under Rathillet, Balfour, and others. They behaved well, and made a stout defence, till the soldiers of Monmouth forced the pass at the point of the bayonet. The insurgents then gave way, and the royal army advanced towards the main body, who, according to the historian Burnet, seem neither to have had the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the sense to run away. They stood a few minutes in doubt and confusion, their native courage and enthusiasm frozen by the sense of discord amongst themselves, and the sudden approach of an army superior in discipline. At length, as the artillery began to play upon them, and the horse and Highlanders were about to charge, they gave way without resistance, and dispersed like a flock of sheep.

22d June, 1679.

The gentle-tempered Duke of Monmouth gave strict orders to afford quarter to all who asked it,

and to make prisoners, but spare lives. Considerable slaughter, it is said, took place, notwithstanding his orders, partly owing to the unrelenting temper of Claverhouse, who was burning to obtain vengeance for the defeat of Drumclog, and the death of his kinsman, who was slain there,[1] and partly to the fury of the English soldiers and the Scottish Highlanders, who distinguished themselves by their cruelty.

Four hundred men were killed at the battle of Bothwell bridge, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. These last were marched to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Greyfriars' churchyard, like cattle in a pen-fold, while several ministers and others were selected for execution. The rest, after long confinement there, and without any shelter save two or three miserable sheds, and such as they found in the tombs, were dismissed, upon giving bonds for conformity in future; the more obstinate were sent as slaves to the plantations. Many of the last were lost at sea. And yet, notwithstanding these disasters, the more remote consequences of the battle of Bothwell bridge were even more calamitous than those which were direct and immediate.

[1] [In the old ballad on the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, Claverhouse is said to have continued the slaughter of the fugitives, in revenge of this gentleman's death—

"'Haud up your hand,' then Monmouth said,
'Gie quarters to these men for me;'
But bloody Claver'se swore an oath,
His kinsman's death avenged should be."

Note, Old Mortality.]

CHAPTER LII.

The Duke of York's Administration of Affairs in Scotland —Persecution of the Cameronians— The Jerviswood and Rye-House Plots—Death of Charles II.

[1679—1685.]

The efforts made by Monmouth obtained an indemnity which was ill-observed, and a limited indulgence which was speedily recalled; and instead of the healing measures which were expected, severe inquisition was made into the conduct of the western proprietors, accused of favouring the insurrection, and that of the gentlemen who had failed to give attendance in the King's host, when assembled to put it down. The excuses made for this desertion of duty were singular enough, being, in many cases, a frank confession of the defaulters' fear of disquiet from their wives, some of whom invoked bitter curses on their husbands, if they took either horse or man to do prejudice to the fanatics who were in arms. To these excuses the court paid no heed, but fined the absentees heavily, and even threatened forfeiture of their lands.

The mild influence of Monmouth in the administration of Scotland lasted but a short while; and that of Lauderdale, though he was now loaded with

age as well as obloquy, in a great measure revived, until it was superseded by the arrival in Scotland of James, Duke of York, the King's brother, and heir presumptive of the throne.

We have already said that this prince was a Catholic, and indeed it was his religion which had occasioned his exile, first to Brussels, and now to Scotland. The King consented to his brother's banishment as an unavoidable measure, the utmost odium having been excited against all Catholics, by the alleged discovery of a plot amongst the Papists, to rise upon and massacre the Protestants, depose the King, and put his brother on the throne. The whole structure of this story is now allowed to have been gross lies and forgeries, but at this period, to doubt it was to be as bad as the Papists themselves. The first fury of national prejudice having begun to subside, James was recalled from Brussels to Scotland, in order to be nearer his brother, though still at such a distance as should not again arouse the jealousy of the irritable Protestants.

The Duke of York was of a character very different from his brother Charles. He had neither that monarch's wit nor his levity, was fond of business, and capable of yielding strict attention to it, and, without being penurious, might be considered as an economist. He was attached to his religion with a sincerity honourable to him as a man, but unhappy for him as a prince destined to reign over a Protestant people. He was severe even to cruelty, and nourished the same high idea of the divine right of kings, and the duty of complete submission

on the part of subjects, which was the original cause of his father's misfortunes.

On the Duke of York's arrival in Scotland, he was received with great marks of honour and welcome by the nobles and gentry, and occupied the palace of Holyrood, which had long been untenanted by royalty.[1] He exerted himself much to conciliate the affections of the Scottish persons of condition; and his grave and lofty, yet courteous manners, suited well the character of a people, who, proud and reserved themselves, willingly pay much respect to the etiquette of rank, providing those entitled to such deference are contented to admit their claims to respect in return.

24th Nov. 1679.

The Duke of York, it is said, became aware of the punctilious character of the Scottish nation, from a speech of the well-known Tom Dalziel. The Duke had invited this old cavalier to dine in private with him, and with his Duchess, Mary of Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena. This princess chose to consider it as a derogation from her rank to admit a subject to her table, and refused to sit

[1] ["Great preparations had been made for his entrance into the Scottish capital; he was conducted with regal pomp through the Water-gate, then the royal entrance; sixteen companies of trained bands, in full uniform, were called out upon the occasion, and sixty men selected from them, accoutred and apparelled in their best manner, were appointed his body-guard. An entertainment was given him by the Magistrates which cost nearly thirteen hundred pounds sterling, an enormous sum in those days, and in the then depressed state of Scotland."—MAITLAND'S *History of Edinburgh*, p. 101.]

down to dinner if Dalziel should remain as a visitor. "Madam," said the undismayed veteran, "I have dined at a table where your father might have stood at my back." He alluded to that of the Emperor of Germany, whom the Duke of Modena must, if summoned, have attended as an officer of the household.

The spirit of the answer is said to have determined James, while holding intercourse with the Scottish nobles and gentry, to exercise as much affability as he could command or affect, which, with the gravity and dignity of his manners, gave him great influence among all who approached his person. He paid particular attention to the chiefs of Highland clans, made himself acquainted with their different interests and characters, and exerted himself to adjust and reconcile their feuds. By such means, he acquired among this primitive race, alike sensible to kind treatment, and resentful of injury or neglect, so great an ascendency, that it continued to be felt in the second generation of his family.

The Duke of York, a Catholic and a prince, was in both capacities disposed to severity against fanatics and insurgents; so that his presence and interference in Scottish affairs increased the disposition to severity against Presbyterians of every shade and modification. But it was on his return, after a short visit to London, during which he had ascertained that his brother's affection for him was undiminished, that he ventured to proceed to extremities in suppressing nonconformists.

The doctrines promulgated by the more fierce

and unreasonable insurgents, in their camp at Hamilton, were now adopted by the numerous and increasing sect, who separated their cause entirely from that of the moderate Presbyterians. These men disowned altogether the King's authority and that of the Government, and renounced the title of all pretenders to the throne, who would not subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant, and govern according to its principles. These doctrines were chiefly enforced by two preachers, named Cargill and Cameron, from the last of whom their followers assumed, or acquired, the title of Cameronians.

Richard Cameron laboured and died in a manner not unworthy of his high pretensions, as the founder of a religious sect. He continued in open resistance after the battle of Bothwell bridge; and on the 22d of June, 1680, occupied the little burgh of Sanquhar with a small party of armed horsemen, and published a paper, or Testimony, formally disowning the authority of the King, and proclaiming that, by injustice and tyranny, he had forfeited the throne. After this bold step, Cameron, being closely pursued, roamed through the more desolate places of the counties of Dumfries and Ayr, with a few friends in arms, of whom Hackston of Rathillet, famous for his share in the death of Archbishop Sharpe, was the principal.

But, on 22d July, 1680, while lying at a desolate place, called Airs moss,[1] they were alarmed with

[1] [*Airs*, or *Aird's moss*, is a large morass in the centre of the parish of Auchinleck, county of Ayr.]

the news, that Bruce of Earlshall was coming upon them with a superior force of infantry and dragoons. The Wanderers resolved to stand their ground, and Cameron pronounced a prayer, in which he three times repeated the pathetic expression, "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe." He then addressed his followers with great firmness, exhorting them to fight to the very last, "For I see," he added, "heaven's gates open to receive all such as shall die this day."

Rathillet divided their handful of twenty-three horse upon the two flanks of about forty half-armed infantry. The soldiers approached, and charged with fury. Cameron and eight others were killed on the spot.[1] Of the royalist party, twenty-eight were either there killed, or died of their wounds shortly after. Rathillet fought with great bravery, but was at length overpowered, struck down, and made prisoner.

In the barbarous spirit of the age, the seizure of Hackston was celebrated as a kind of triumph, and all possible insult was heaped on the unhappy man. He was brought into Edinburgh, mounted on a horse without a saddle, and having his face to the

[1] ["About a quarter of a mile from the public road, between Cumnock and Muirkirk, near the western extremity of the morass, Mr Cameron's body, with the other eight who fell here, were all buried on the spot. About fifty years after, some pious individuals erected over them a grave-stone upon four pillars, with the name of Cameron upon the head of it, the form of an open Bible before him, and the names of the other eight round the sides of it."—WALKER's *Life of Cameron, in Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. p. 204.]

tail. The head and hands of Richard Cameron were borne before him on pikes. But such insults rather arouse than break the spirits of brave men. Hackston behaved with great courage before the Council. The Chancellor having upbraided him as a man of libertine habits, "While I was so," he replied, "I was acceptable to your lordship; I only lost your favour when I renounced my vices." The Archbishop's death being alleged against him as a murder, he replied that Heaven would decide which were the greatest murderers, himself, or those who sat in judgment on him. He was executed with circumstances of protracted cruelty. Both his hands were cut off before execution, and his heart torn from his bosom before he was quite dead. His head, with that of Cameron, was fixed on the Netherbow port, the hands of the former being extended, as if in the act of prayer. One of the enemies of his party gave Cameron this testimony on the occasion: "Here are the relics of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting."

Daniel, or Donald Cargill, took up the banner of the sect, which had fallen from Cameron's dying hand. He avouched its tenets as boldly as his predecessor, and at a large conventicle of Cameronians, held in the Torwood, September 1680, had the audacity to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the King, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, the Lord Advocate, and General Dalziel. This proceeding was entirely uncanonical, and contrary to the rules of the Scottish Presbyterian church; but it assorted

well with the uncompromising spirit of the Hill-men, or Cameronians, who desired neither to give favours to, nor receive favours from, those whom they termed God's enemies.

A high reward being put upon Cargill's head, he was, not long afterwards, taken by a Dumfriesshire gentleman,[1] and executed, along with four others, all disowning the authority of the King. The firmness with which these men met death, tended to confirm the good opinion of the spectators;[2] and though the Cameronian doctrines were too wild to be adopted by men of sense and education, yet they spread among the inferior ranks, and were productive of much mischief. 27th July, 1681.

Thus, persecution, long and unsparingly exercised, drove a part of an oppressed peasantry into wild and perilous doctrines; dangerous, if acted upon, not only to the existing tyranny, but to any other form of government, how moderate soever. It was, considering the frantic severity of the Privy Council, a much greater wonder that they had not sooner stirred up a spirit of determined and avowed opposition to their government, than that

[1] [James Irvine of Bonshaw, when he surprised Cargill in bed, in the house called Corvingtown Mill, exclaimed, "Oh blessed Bonshaw! and blessed day that ever he was born, that he has found such a prize this morning." He obtained the promised reward of 6000 merks (equal to L.333 sterling).—SMITH's *Life of Cargill, Biog. Presb.* vol. ii. p. 44.]

[2] ["When setting his foot upon the ladder to go up to embrace the bloody rope, he said, 'The Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear, confusion, or perturbation of mind, than ever I entered a pulpit to preach.'"—*Ibid.* p. 49.]

such should now have arisen. Nevertheless, blind to experience, the Duke of York, who had now completely superseded Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs, continued to attempt the extirpation of the Cameronian sect, by the very same violent means which had occasioned its formation.

All usual forms of law, all the bulwarks by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down, and officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish, any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles; and if they thought proper, they might put them to death upon the spot. All that was necessary to condemnation was, that the individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce the Covenant—or should hesitate to admit, that the death of Sharpe was an act of murder—or should refuse to pray for the King—or decline to answer any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning their religious principles.

A scene of this kind is told with great simplicity and effect by one of the writers of the period;[1] and I am truly sorry that Claverhouse, whom, at the time of the Revolution, we shall find acting a heroic part, was a principal agent in this act of cruelty. Nor, considering the cold-blooded and savage barbarity of the deed, can we admit the excuse either

[1] ["Some remarkable passages in the life and death of Mr Alexander Peden, by Mr Patrick Walker."—Reprinted in the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. Edin. 1827.]

of the orders under which he acted, or of the party prejudices of the time, or of the condition of the sufferer as a rebel and outlaw, to diminish our unqualified detestation of it.

There lived at this gloomy period, at a place called Preshill, or Priesthill, in Lanarkshire, a man named John Brown, a carrier by profession, and called, from his zealous religious principles, the Christian Carrier. This person had been out with the insurgents at Bothwell bridge, and was for other reasons amenable to the cruelty of the existing laws. On a morning of May, 1685, Peden, one of the Cameronian ministers, whom Brown had sheltered in his house, took his leave of his host and his wife, repeating twice,—"Poor woman! a fearful morning—a dark and misty morning!"—words which were afterwards believed to be prophetic of calamity. When Peden was gone, Brown left his house with a spade in his hand for his ordinary labour, when he was suddenly surrounded and arrested by a band of horse, with Claverhouse at their head. Although the prisoner had a hesitation in his speech on ordinary occasions, he answered the questions which were put to him in this extremity with such composure and firmness, that Claverhouse asked whether he was a preacher. He was answered in the negative. "If he has not preached," said Claverhouse, "mickle hath he prayed in his time.—But betake you now to your prayers for the last time" (addressing the sufferer), "for you shall presently die." The poor man kneeled down and prayed with zeal; and when he was touching on

the political state of the country, and praying that Heaven would spare a remnant, Claverhouse, interrupting him, said, "I gave you leave to pray, and you are preaching."—"Sir," answered the prisoner, turning towards his judge on his knees, "you know nothing either of preaching or praying, if you call what I now say preaching:"—then continued without confusion. When his devotions were ended, Claverhouse commanded him to bid good-night to his wife and children. Brown turned towards them, and, taking his wife by the hand, told her that the hour was come which he had spoken of, when he first asked her consent to marry him. The poor woman answered firmly,—"In this cause I am willing to resign you."—"Then have I nothing to do save to die," he replied; "and I thank God I have been in a frame to meet death for many years." He was shot dead by a party of soldiers at the end of his own house; and although his wife was of a nervous habit, and used to become sick at the sight of blood, she had on this occasion strength enough to support the dreadful scene without fainting or confusion, only her eyes dazzled when the carabines were fired. While her husband's dead body lay stretched before him, Claverhouse asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I ever thought much of him," she replied, "and now more than ever."—"It were but justice," said Claverhouse, "to lay thee beside him."—"I doubt not," she replied, "that if you were permitted, your cruelty would carry you that length. But how will you answer for this morning's work?"—"To

man I can be answerable," said Claverhouse, "and Heaven I will take in my own hand." He then mounted his horse and marched, and left her with the corpse of her husband lying beside her, and her fatherless infant in her arms. "She placed the child on the ground," says the narrative with scriptural simplicity, "tied up the corpse's head, and straighted the limbs, and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him."

The persecuted and oppressed fanatics showed on all occasions the same undaunted firmness, nor did the women fall short of the men in fortitude. Two of them, of different ages, underwent the punishment of death by drowning; for which purpose they were chained to posts within the flood mark, and exposed to the fury of the advancing tide; while, at the same time, they were offered rescue from the approaching billows, the sound of which was roaring in their ears, if they would but condescend so far as to say, God save the King. "Consider," said the well-meaning friends around them, "it is your duty to pray even for the greatest sinner."—"But we are not to do so," said the elder female, "at the bidding of every profligate." Her place of execution being nearer the advancing tide, she was first drowned; and her younger companion having said something, as if she desired the King's salvation, the bystanders would have saved her;[1] but when she was

11th May, 1685.

[1] ["Before she was quite dead they pulled her up, and held her out of the water till she was recovered, and then by Major Windram's orders, she was asked if she would pray for the

dragged out of the waves, half strangled, she chose to be replunged into them, rather than abjure the Covenant. She died accordingly.[1]

But it was not the common people and the fanatics alone who were vexed and harassed with unreasonable oaths. Those of higher rank were placed in equal danger, by a test oath, of a complex and puzzling nature, and so far inconsistent with itself, that while, on the one hand, the person who took it was to profess his full belief and compliance with the Confession of Faith adopted by the Scottish Church in the first Parliament of King James VI., he was in the next clause made to acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church; a proposition entirely inconsistent with that very Confession which he had just recognised. Nevertheless, this test was considered as a general pledge of loyalty to be taken by every one to whom it should be tendered, under pain of ruinous fines, confiscations, and even death itself. The case of

King. She answered, she wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none. One deeply affected with the death of the other and her case, said, 'Dear Margaret, say, God save the King—say, God save the King.' She answered in the greatest steadiness and composure, 'God save him if he will, for it is his salvation I desire.' "—WODROW, v. ii. p. 506.]

[1] [Their names were Margaret MacLauchlan, a widow aged sixty-three, and Margaret Wilson, eighteen years. They were thus executed 11th May, 1685, within the flood mark in the water of Blednoch, near Wigtoun in Galloway. Agnes Wilson, only thirteen years of age, was also condemned to suffer with her sister, but having obtained liberation on a bond of her father's for L.100 sterling, that sum was exacted upon her non-appearance. —WODROW.]

the Earl of Argyle was distinguished, even in those oppressive times, for its peculiar injustice.

This nobleman was the son of the Marquis who was beheaded at the commencement of this reign, and he himself, as we have already mentioned, had been placed in danger of losing life and lands, by a most oppressive proceeding on the obsolete statute of leasing-making. He was now subjected to a severer storm. When the oath was tendered to him, as a privy counsellor, he declared he took it so far as it was consistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion. Such a qualification, it might have been thought, was entirely blameless and unexceptionable. And yet for having added this explanation to the oath which he was required to take, Argyle was thrown into prison, brought to the bar, tried and found guilty of high treason and leasing-making. It has been plausibly alleged that Government only used this proceeding, to wring from the unfortunate Earl a surrender of his jurisdictions; but, very prudently, he did not choose to trust his life on so precarious a tenure. He was one of the few peers who still professed an attachment to the Presbyterian religion; and the enemies who had abused the laws so grossly to obtain his condemnation, were sufficiently likely to use the advantage to the uttermost. He escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh, disguised in the livery of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter,[1] and went over to Holland. Sentence of at- 20th Dec. 1681.

[1] ["It is said that the Earl in his agitation dropt the lady's

tainder was immediately pronounced. His honours, estate, and life were forfeited in absence; his arms were reversed and torn; his posterity incapacitated; and a large reward attached to his head.[1]

This extravagant proceeding struck general terror, from its audacious violation of justice, while the gross fallacy on which it rested was the subject of general contempt. Even the children educated in George Heriot's Hospital (a charity on a plan similar to that of Christ Church in London), turned into ridicule the proceedings on this iniquitous trial. They voted that their yard dog was a person under trust, and that the test, therefore, should be tendered to him. Poor Watch, you may believe, only smelt at the paper held out to him, on which the oath was printed, and would pay no more attention to it. Upon this, the paper was again offered, having been previously rubbed over with butter,

gown when about to pass the sentinel at the castle-gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of 'careless loun,' and which so besmeared him, that his features were not recognised."—LAW's *Memorials*, 4to, p. 210.]

[1] ["Never was a sentence productive of more execration and horror; never, perhaps, was a sentence more flagitiously obtained, than the attainder of Argyle. Even the Episcopal party, whom James had attached to his person and interest, were indignant at the shameless prostitution of justice, and the depravity of the prime nobility who had conspired or condescended to the basest offices to accomplish the ruin of an ancient house. But the Presbyterians were struck with horror and despair, and became ever after irreconcilable to James."—LAING, vol. ii. p. 117.]

which induced the mastiff to swallow it. This was called taking the test with a qualification, and the dog was adjudged to be hanged as a leasing-maker and perverter of the laws of the kingdom.

The gross violence of these proceedings awakened resentment as well as fear. But fear was at first predominant. Upwards of thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen, attached to the Presbyterian religion, resolved to sell their property in Scotland, and remove themselves to America, where they might live according to the dictates of their conscience. A deputation of their number, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane, Baillie of Jerviswood, and others, went to London to prepare for this emigration. Here the secret was imparted to them, of an enterprise formed by Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, to alter the government under Charles II.; and, at all events, to prevent, by the most forcible means, the Duke of York's ascent to the throne, in case of the King's death. The Scottish malecontents abandoned their plan of emigration, to engage in this new and more adventurous scheme. Walter Scott, Earl of Tarras, brother-in-law of the Earl of Monmouth, undertook for a rising in the South of Scotland; and many of his name and kindred, as well as other gentlemen of the Borders of Scotland, engaged in the plot. One gentleman who was invited to join, excused himself, on account of the ominous sound of the titles of two of the persons engaged. He did not, he said, like such words as Gallowshiels and Hangingshaw.

Besides the Scottish plot, and that which was conducted by Russell and Sidney in London, there were in that city some desperate men, of a subordinate description, who proposed to simplify the purpose of both the principal conspiracies, by putting the King to death as he passed by a place called the Ryehonse. This last plot becoming public, was the means of defeating the others. But although Campbell of Cessnock, Baillie of Jerviswood, and some conspirators of less consequence, were arrested, the escape of most of the persons concerned partly disappointed the revenge of the Government. The circumstances attending some of these escapes were singular.

Lord Melville was about to come to Edinburgh from his residence in Fife, and had sent his principal domestic, a Highlander, named MacArthur, to make preparations for his arrival in town. The Justice-General was friendly to Lord Melville. He had that morning issued warrants for his arrest, and desired to put him on his guard, but durst take no steps to do so. Happening to see Lord Melville's valet on the street, he bent his eyes significantly on him, and asked, "What are you doing here? Get back, you Highland dog!" The man began to say he was making preparations for his master coming to town, when the Justice again interrupted him, saying, angrily, "Get home, you Highland dog!" and then passed on. MacArthur was sensible of the dangerous temper of the times, and upon receiving such a hint, slight as it was, from such a man, he resolved to go back to his

master. At the Ferry he saw a party of the guards embarking on the same voyage. Making every exertion, he got home time enough to alarm his Lord, who immediately absconded, and soon after got over to Holland.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, afterwards Lord Marchmont, had a still more narrow escape. The party of guards sent to arrest him had stopped at the house of a friend to the Government to get refreshments, which were amply supplied to them. The lady of the house, who secretly favoured the Presbyterian interest, connected the appearance of this party, and the inquiries which they made concerning the road to Polwarth castle, with some danger threatened to Sir Patrick Hume. She dared not write to apprize him, and still less durst she trust a messenger with any verbal communication. She therefore wrapt up a feather in a blank piece of paper, and sent it over the hills by a boy, while she detained the military party as long as she could, without exciting suspicion. In the mean time, Sir Patrick received the token, and his acute apprehension being rendered yet more penetrating by a sense of danger, he at once comprehended that the feather was meant to convey a hint to him that he should fly.

Having been long peculiarly odious to the Govenrment, Sir Patrick could think of no secure retreat above ground. A subterranean vault in Polwarth churchyard, being that in which his ancestors were buried, seemed the only safe place of refuge. The sole light admitted into this dreary

cell was by a small slit at one end. A trusty domestic contrived to convey a bed and bedclothes to this dismal place, and here Sir Patrick lay concealed during the strict search which was made for him in every direction. His daughter, Grizell Hume, then about eighteen years of age, was intrusted with the task of conveying him food, which could only be brought to the vault at midnight. She had been bred up in the usual superstitions of the times, about ghosts and apparitions, but the duty which she was discharging to her father banished all such childish fears. When she returned from her first journey, her mother asked her if she was not frightened in going through the churchyard. She answered, that she had felt fear for nothing excepting the minister's dogs (the manse[1] being nigh the church), which had kept such a barking as to alarm her for a discovery. Her mother sent for the clergyman next morning, and by pretending an alarm for mad dogs, prevailed on him to destroy them, or shut them up.

But it was not enough to have a faithful messenger; much precaution was also necessary, to secure secretly, and by stealth, the provisions for the unfortunate recluse, since, if the victuals had been taken openly, the servants must naturally have suspected the purpose to which they were to be applied. Grizell Hume used, therefore, to abstract from the table, as secretly as she could, a portion of the family dinner. Sir Patrick Hume was fond

[1] *Anglice*, Parsonage.

of sheep's head (being a good Scotsman in all respects), and Grizell, aware of her father's taste, had slipt into her napkin a large part of one which was on the table, when one of her brothers, a boy too young to be trusted with the secret, bawled out, in his surprise at the disappearance of the victuals, "Mamma, look at Grizzy—while we were supping the broth, she has eaten up all the sheep's head!"

While in this melancholy abode, Sir Patrick Hume's principal amusement was reading and reciting Buchanan's translation of the Psalms. After lurking in his father's tomb, and afterwards in his own house, for three or four weeks, he at length ventured abroad, and through many dangers made his escape to Holland, like other fugitives.

In the mean time, Baillie of Jerviswood, though in a very infirm state of health, was brought to that trial from which Polwarth and others had escaped so marvellously. This gentleman had been offered his life, on condition of his becoming a witness against Lord Russell; a proposal which he rejected with disdain, saying, those who uttered it knew neither him nor his country. It does not appear that there was the slightest evidence of the Scottish gentlemen having any concern in the scheme for assassinating the King; but there is no doubt that they had meditated an insurrection, as the only mode of escaping the continued persecution of the Government.

When Baillie received sentence of death, he only replied, "My Lords, the sentence is sharp, and

the time is short; but I thank God, who has made me as fit to die as you are to live." He suffered death with the same firmness; Dec. 24, 1684. his sister-in-law, a daughter of Warriston, had voluntarily shared his imprisonment, and supported his exhausted frame during his trial. She attended his last moments on the scaffold, and with Roman fortitude witnessed the execution of a horrid sentence. It is worthy of mention, that the son and heir of this gentleman afterwards married the same young lady who so piously supported her father, Sir Patrick Hume, while concealed in the tomb.[1] No other person was executed for accession to what was called the Jerviswood Plot; but many gentlemen were tried in absence, and their estates being declared forfeited, were bestowed on the most violent tools of the Government.

Upwards of two thousand individuals were denounced outlaws, or fugitives from justice. Other persons, obnoxious to the rulers, were exorbitantly fined. One of these was Sir William Scott of Harden, from whose third brother your mother is descended. This gentleman, in his early years, had been an active member of the Committee of Estates, but was now upwards of seventy, and

[1] ["Of the marriage between Mr George Baillie and Lady Grizell Hume, there were two daughters, Grizell and Rachel. The former was married to Mr Murray, afterwards Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope; the latter, to Charles Lord Binning, eldest son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, from whom are descended the present families of Haddington and of Baillie of Jerviswood."—LADY MURRAY'S, *of Stanhope, Memoirs. Preface*, p. 5.]

much retired from public life. But his nephew, Walter, Earl of Tarras, was deeply concerned in the Jerviswood plot; more than one of Harden's sons were also implicated, and hence he became obnoxious to the Government. He attended only on the Indulged, that is, licensed preachers, and had kept himself free of giving any offence that could be charged against him. The celebrated Richard Cameron was for some time his chaplain, but had been dismissed as soon as he declared against the Indulgence, and afforded other symptoms of the violent opinions of his sect. But the Privy Council had determined that husbands should be made responsible for the penalties and fines incurred by their wives. Lady Scott of Harden had become liable for so many transgressions of this kind, that the sum total, amounting to almost two thousand pounds, was, with much difficulty, limited to fifteen hundred, an immense sum for a Scottish gentleman of that period; but which was extorted from this aged person by imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh.

Whilst these affairs were going on in Scotland, the Duke of York was suddenly recalled to London by the King, whose health began to fail. Monmouth, his favourite son, had been obliged to retire abroad, in consequence of the affair of the Rye-house plot. It was said that the King still nourished a secret wish to recall his son, and to send the Duke of York back to Scotland. But if he meditated such a change of resolution, which seems

rather improbable, fate left him no opportunity to execute it.

Charles II. died of a stroke of apoplexy, which summoned him from the midst of a distracted country, and a gay and luxurious court, on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

CHAPTER LIII.

Reign of James VII.—Invasions and Execution of Monmouth and Argyle—Execution of Rumbold, the principal Conspirator in the Ryehouse Plot—Imprisonment of a Body of Nonconformists in Dunottar Castle—Distinctions between the two Parties of Whig and Tory—James's Plans for the Restoration of Popery.

[1685.]

When the Duke of York ascended the throne on the death of his brother Charles, he assumed the title of James II. of England, and James VII. of Scotland.[1] His eldest daughter, Mary (whom he had by his first wife), was married to William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder or President of the Dutch United Provinces; a prince of great wisdom, sense, and courage, distinguished by the share he had taken in opposing the ambition of France. He was now next heir to the crown of England, unless the King, his father-in-law, should have a surviving son by his present Queen,

[1] [Of the coronation of James, Bishop Burnet says—"The crown was not well fitted for the King's head; it came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face; the canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller things happened that were looked on as ill omens; and his son, by Mrs Sidley, died that day."—*History of His Own Times*, vol. iii. p. 20.]

Mary of Este. It was natural to conclude, that the Prince of Orange viewed with the most intense interest the various revolutions and changes of disposition which took place in a kingdom where he possessed so deep a stake. It did not escape remark, that the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and the various malecontents who were compelled to fly from England or Scotland, seemed to find support, as well as refuge, in Holland. On this subject James made several remonstrances to his son-in-law, which the prince evaded, by alleging that a free state, like the Dutch republic, could not shut its ports against fugitives, of whatever description; and with such excuses James was obliged to remain satisfied. Nevertheless, the enemies of the monarch were so completely subdued, both in Scotland and England, that no prince in Europe seemed more firmly seated upon his throne.

In the mean while, there was no relaxation in the oppressive measures carried on in Scotland. The same laws for apprehending, examining, and executing in the fields, those suspected of nonconformity, were enforced with unrelenting severity; and as the refusal to bear evidence against a person accused of treason, was made to amount to a crime equal to treason itself, the lands and life of every one seemed to be exposed to the machinations of the corrupt ministry of an arbitrary prince. To administer or receive the Covenant, or even to write in its defence, was declared treasonable, and many other delinquencies were screwed up to the same penalty

of death and confiscation. Those whom the law named traitors were thus rendered so numerous, that it seemed to be impossible for the most cautious to avoid coming in contact with them, and thereby subjecting themselves to the severe penalties denounced on all having intercourse with such delinquents. This general scene of oppression would, it was supposed, notwithstanding the general show of submission, lead to an universal desire to shake off the yoke of James, should an opportunity be afforded.

Under this conviction, the numerous disaffected persons who had retreated to Holland, resolved upon a double invasion of Britain, one part of which was to be directed against England, under command of the popular Duke of Monmouth, whose hopes of returning in any other peaceful fashion had been destroyed by the death of his father, Charles II. The other branch of the expedition was destined to invade Scotland, having at its head the Earl of Argyle (who had been the victim of so much unjust persecution), with Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Cochrane, and others, the most important of the Scottish exiles, to assist and counsel him.

As these Tales relate exclusively to the history of Scotland, I need only notice, that Monmouth's share of the undertaking seemed, for a time, to promise success. Having landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, he was joined by greater numbers of men than he had means of arming, and his rapid progress greatly alarmed 11th June, 1685.

James's Government. But his adherents were almost entirely of the lower order, whose zeal and courage might be relied on, but who had no advantages of influence from education or property. At length the unfortunate duke hazarded a battle near Sedgemoor, in which his cavalry, from the treachery or cowardice of their leader, Lord Grey, fled and left the infantry unprotected. The sturdy peasants fought with the utmost resolution, until they were totally broken and dispersed, with great slaughter. But the carnage made among the fugitives was forgotten, in comparison with the savage and unsparing judicial prosecutions which were afterwards carried on before Judge Jefferies, a man whose cruelty was a shame to his profession, and to mankind.[1]

Monmouth himself had no better fortune than his adherents. He fell into the hands of the pursuers, and was brought prisoner to the Tower

[1] ["Jefferies was sent the western circuit to try the prisoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty, and in that case he gave them hope of favour if they gave him no trouble: he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in the utmost severity. This made many plead guilty who had a great defence in law; but he showed them no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about 600 persons."—BURNET, vol. iii. p. 56. Hume says, "besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice." And it appears, from an account of the proceedings, printed in 1716, that upwards of 850 persons were ordered for transportation.]

of London. He entreated to be permitted to have an interview with the King, alleging he had something of consequence to discover to him. But when this was at length granted, the unhappy duke had nothing to tell, or at least told nothing, but exhausted himself in asking mercy at the hands of his uncle, who had previously determined not to grant it. Monmouth accordingly suffered death on Towerhill, amid the lamentations of the common people, to whom he was endeared by his various amiable qualities, and the beauty of his person, fitting him to be the delight and ornament of a court, but not to be the liberator of an oppressed people. 15th July.

While the brief tragedy of Monmouth's invasion, defeat, and death, was passing in England, Argyle's invasion of Scotland was brought to as disastrous a conclusion. The leaders, even before they left their ships, differed as to the course to be pursued. Argyle, a great chieftain in the Highlands, was naturally disposed to make the principal efforts in that part of the country which his friends and followers inhabited. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane, while they admitted that they were certain to raise the clan of Campbell by following the Earl's counsel, maintained, nevertheless, that this single clan, however brave and numerous could not contend with the united strength of all the other western tribes, who were hostile to Argyle, and personally attached to James II. They complained, that by landing in the West Highlands, they should expose themselves to be shut up

in a corner of the kingdom, where they could expect to be joined by none save Argyle's immediate dependents; and where they must necessarily be separated from the western provinces, in which the oppressed Covenanters had shown themselves ready to rise, even without the encouragement of money or arms, or of a number of brave gentlemen to command and lead them on.

These disputes augmented, when, on landing in Kintyre, the Earl of Argyle raised his clan to the number of about a thousand men. Joined to the adventurers embarked from Holland, who were about three hundred, and to other recruits, the insurgent army might amount in all to fifteen hundred, a sufficient number to have struck a severe blow before the royal forces could have assembled, if the invaders could have determined among themselves where to aim at.

Argyle proposed marching to Inverary, to attack the Laird of Ballechan, who was lying there for the King with six hundred Highlanders, waiting the support of the Marquis of Athole, then at the head of several clans, and in motion towards Argyleshire. But Sir John Cochrane, having had some communications in the west, which promised a general rising in that country, insisted that the main effort should be made in that quarter. He had a letter also from a gentleman of Lanarkshire, named William Cleland, undertaking, that if the Marquis of Argyle would declare for the work of Reformation, carried on from the year 1638 to 1648, he should be joined by all the faithful Pres-

byterians in that country. Sir John, therefore, demanded from Argyle a supply of men and ammunition, that he might raise the western shires; and was so eager in the request, that he said if nobody would support him, he would go alone, with a pitchfork in his hand.

Either project was hopeful, if either had been rapidly executed, but the loss of time in debating the question was fatal. At length the Lowland expedition was determined on; and Argyle, with an army augmented to two thousand five hundred men, descended into Lennox, proposing to cross the Clyde, and summon to arms the Covenanters of the west country. But the various parties among the Presbyterians had already fallen into debates, whether or not they should own Argyle, and unite under his standard; so that, when that unhappy, and, it would seem, irresolute nobleman, had crossed the river Leven, near to Dunbarton, he found his little army, without any prospect of reinforcement, nearly surrounded by superior forces of the King, assembling from different points, under the Marquis of Athole, the Duke of Gordon, and the Earl of Dunbarton.

Argyle, pressed on all sides, proposed to give battle to the enemy; but the majority of the council of war which he convoked were of opinion, that it was more advisable to give the royalists the slip, and leaving their encampment in the night, to march for Glasgow, or for Bothwell bridge; and thus at the same time get into a friendly country, and place a large and unfordable river betwixt them

and a superior enemy. Lighting, therefore, numerous fires in the camp, as if it were still occupied by them, Argyle and his troops commenced their projected manœuvre; but a retreat is always a discouraging movement, a night-march commonly a confused one, and the want of discipline in these hasty levies added to the general want of confidence and the universal disorder. Their guides, also, were either treacherous or ignorant, for, when morning dawned on the dispirited insurgents, instead of finding themselves near Glasgow, they perceived they were much lower on the banks of the Clyde, near Kilpatrick. Here the leaders came to an open rupture. Their army broke up and separated; and when the unfortunate Earl, being left almost alone, endeavoured to take refuge in the house of a person who had been once his servant, he was inhospitably refused admittance. He then crossed the Clyde, accompanied by a single friend, who, perceiving that they were pursued, had the generosity to halt and draw upon himself the attention of the party who followed them. This was at Inchinnan ford, upon the river Cart, close to Blythswood house.

But Argyle was not more safe alone than in company. It was observed by some soldiers of the militia, who were out in every direction, that the fugitive quitted his horse and waded through the river on foot, from which they argued he must be a person of importance, who was careless about losing his horse, so that he himself made his escape. As soon, therefore, as he reached the bank, they fell

upon him, and though he made some defence, at length struck him down. As he fell he exclaimed, —"Unfortunate Argyle!"—thus apprising his captors of the importance of their prisoner. A large fragment of rock, still called Argyle's Stone, marks the place where he was taken.[1]

Thus terminated this unfortunate expedition, in which Argyle seems to have engaged, from an over estimation both of his own consequence and military talents, and which the Lowland gentlemen seem to have joined, from their imperfect knowledge of the state of the country, as reported to them by those who deeply felt their own wrongs, and did not consider that the majority of their countrymen was overawed and intimidated, as well as discontented.

By way of retaliating upon this unhappy noble-

[1] ["Argyle himself, heing alone on a little pownie, was overtaken by two men of Sir John Shaw's, who would have had his pownie to carry their haggage; thereupon he fired a pistol at them, for he had three on him, whereof I have two, which I got from his son-in-law, the second Marquis of Lothian, and thereafter took the water of Inshenan. But a wehster, dwelling there, hearing the noise, came with a broadsword, and while the other two were capitulating with him, told him to go for some gold. The weaver being drunk, would not part with him, whereon Argyle offered to fire on him; hut the powder in the pan being wet in the water, would not fire, whereon the wehster gave him a great pelt over the head with his sword, that he dampt him so that he fell in the river, and in the fall cried—'Ah, the unfortunate Argyle!" He was tane to Sir John Shaw's, who knew him, alheit he kept on his beard since his escape out of Edinburgh Castle, and had a hlue honnet on his head. He gave his purse of 130 guineas to Sir John (conform to the law of war), and was taken to Glasgow tolhooth."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S *Chronological Notes*, p. 53.]

man the severities exercised towards Montrose, which he is said to have looked upon in triumph, the same disgraceful indignities were used towards Argyle, to which his enemy had been subjected. He was carried up the High Street bare-headed, and mounted on an unsaddled horse, with the hangman preceding him, and was thus escorted to the Tolbooth. In both cases the disgrace lay with those who gave such orders, and did not attach to the objects of their mean malevolence.

The Council debated whether Argyle should be executed on the extravagant sentence which had condemned him for a traitor and *depraver* of the laws, on account of his adding a qualification to the test, or whether it were not better to try him anew, for the undoubted treason which he had committed by this subsequent act of invasion, which afforded a more legal and unchallengeable course of procedure. It was resolved, nevertheless, they should follow the first course, and hold Argyle as a man already condemned, lest, by doing otherwise, they should seem to throw doubt upon, if not indirectly admit, the illegality of the first sentence. The unfortunate Earl was appointed to be beheaded by the Maiden,[1] an instrument resembling

[1] [" This machine of death," says Pennant, " was introduced by the Regent Morton, who afterwards suffered by it himself. It is in form of a painter's easel, and about ten feet high; at four feet from the bottom is a cross bar, on which the felon lays his head, which is kept down by another placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves; in these is placed a sharp axe, with a vast weight of lead, supported at the very summit with a cord, which the executioner cutting, the axe falls, and does the

the Guillotine of modern France. He mounted the scaffold with great firmness, and embracing the engine by which he was to suffer, declared it the sweetest maiden he ever kissed, and submitted with courage to the fatal accomplishment of his sentence. 30th June. When this nobleman's death is considered as the consequence of a sentence passed against him for presuming to comment upon and explain an oath which was self-contradictory, it can only be termed a judicial murder. Upwards of twenty of the most considerable gentlemen of his clan were executed in consequence of having joined him. His estate was wasted and confiscated; his brother, Lord Niel Campbell, was forced to fly to America, and his name doomed to extirpation.

Several of Argyle's Lowland followers were also condemned to death. Amongst these was Richard Rumbold, an Englishman, the principal conspirator in what was called the Ryehouse Plot. He was a republican of the old stamp, who might have ridden right-hand man to Cromwell himself. He was the most active in the scheme for assassinating the two royal brothers, which was to have been executed at his farm called the Ryehouse, by one party firing on the royal guards, and another pouring their shot into the King's carriage. Rumbold, who was to head the latter party, expressed some scruple at shooting the innocent postilion,

affair effectually, without suffering the unhappy criminal to undergo a repetition of strokes, as has been the case in the common method."—*Tour*, v. iii. p. 365.]

but had no compunction on the project of assassinating the King and Duke of York.

Escaping from England when the discovery took place, this stern republican had found refuge in Holland, until he was persuaded to take part in Argyle's expedition. When the Scottish leaders broke up in confusion and deserted each other, a stranger and an Englishman was not likely to experience much aid or attention. Rumbold, left to shift for himself amid the general dispersion and flight, was soon beset by a party of the Royalists, and while he stoutly defended himself against two men in front, a third came behind him with a pitchfork, put it behind his ear, and turned off his steel cap, leaving his head exposed; on which Rumbold exclaimed, "O cruel countryman, to use me thus when my face was to mine enemy!"

He died the death of a traitor, as his share in the Ryehouse conspiracy justly merited. But on the scaffold, Rumbold maintained the same undaunted courage he had often shown in the field. One of his dying observations was, "that he had never believed that the generality of mankind came into the world bridled and saddled, and a few booted and spurred to ride upon them."[1] 26th June.

[1] ["From the loss of one eye, and his daring spirit, Rumbold was called Hannibal among his associates, and Dryden, in the Masque of Albion and Albanius, terms him the Holy Cyclops. He was a republican in principle, the very model of one of Cromwells old troopers, bold, inflexible, and fanatical. He had been in most of the distinguished actions of the Great Civil War. Although attacked by a large party, they could not secure him until a peasant came behind him with a pitchfork," &c. (as in the text).—SIR WALTER SCOTT, Note, FOUNTAINHALL, p. 56.]

This man's death was afterwards avenged on one Mark Kerr, the chief of those who took him: he was murdered before his own door, by two young men, calling themselves Rumbold's sons, who ripped out his heart, in imitation of what their father had suffered on the scaffold. Thus does crime beget crime, and cruelty engender cruelty. The actors in this bloody deed made their escape, not so much as a dog baying at them.

Before quitting the subject of Argyle's rebellion, I may mention a species of oppression practised on the nonconformists, of a nature differing from those I have already mentioned. When the alarm of invasion arose, it was resolved by the Privy Council, that all such persons as were in prison on account of religion should be sent to the north, for their more safe custody. After a toilsome march, rendered bitter by want of food and accommodation, as well as by the raillery of the pipers, who insulted with ridiculous tunes a set of persons who held their minstrelsy to be sinful, the Wanderers, to the number of an hundred and sixty persons, of whom there were several women, and even some children, reached the place of their destination. This proved to be the castle of Dunottar, a strong fortress, almost surrounded by the German ocean,[1]

[1] [Near the town of Stonehaven: the castle is situated on a perpendicular rock, level on the top, of several acres extent, projecting into the sea, and almost separated from the land by a very deep chasm. It forms one of the most majestic ruins in Scotland. From some old papers still extant, it appears, that upon this rock was formerly situated the parish church; and

the same in which, as I have told you, the Regalia of Scotland were preserved for some time. Here the prisoners were, without distinction, packed into a large dungeon, having a window open to the sea, in front of a huge precipice. They were neither allowed bedding nor provisions, excepting what they bought, and were treated by their keepers with the utmost rigour.[1] The walls of this place, still called the Whigs' vault, bear token to the severities inflicted on those unhappy persons. There are, in particular, a number of apertures cut in the wall about a man's height, and it was the custom, when such was the jailor's pleasure, that any prisoner who was accounted refractory, should be obliged to stand up with his arms extended, and his fingers secured by wedges in the crevices I have described. It appears that some of these apertures or crevices, which are lower than the others, have been intended for women, and even for children. In this cruel confinement many died, some were deprived of the use of their limbs by rheumatism

that the fortress was built there during the contest betwixt Bruce and Baliol, by an ancestor of the Marischal family, who acquired this right upon condition of building a parish church in a more convenient place. Before the use of artillery, this castle must have been impregnable."—*Statist. Account*, vol. xi. p. 226.]

[1] ["The guards made them pay for every indulgence, even that of water; and when some of the prisoners resisted a demand so unreasonable, and insisted on their right to have this necessary of life untaxed, their keepers emptied the water on the prison floor, saying. 'If they were obliged to bring water for the canting Whigs, they were not bound to afford them the use of bowls or pitchers gratis.'"—*Introduction to Old Mortality.*]

and other diseases, and several lost their lives by desperate attempts to descend from the rock on which the castle is founded. Some who actually escaped by descending the precipice, were retaken, and so cruelly tortured for the attempt, by lighted matches tied between their fingers, that several were mutilated, and others died of the inflammation which ensued.

The survivors, after enduring this horrid imprisonment for six weeks or two months, had the test offered to them. Those who, overcome by bodily anguish, and the hopeless misery of their condition, agreed to take this engagement, were discharged, and the others transported to the plantations. A tombstone in Dunottar churchyard, still preserves the names of such as died in this cruel captivity, in the various modes we have mentioned.

The failure of the invasions of Monmouth and Argyle, with the revenge which had been taken on their unfortunate leaders, was by James, in his triumph, recorded by two medals struck for the occasion, which bore on one side two severed heads, on the other two headless trunks; a device as inhuman as the proceedings by which these advantages had been followed up, and as the royal vengeance which had been so unsparingly executed.

The part of the nation which inclined to support the side of the King in all political discussions, now obtained a complete superiority over the rest. They were known by the name of Tories, an appellation borrowed from Ireland, where the irregular and desultory bands, which maintained a sort

of skirmishing warfare after Cromwell had suppressed every national and united effort, were so called. Like the opposite term of Whig, Tory was at first used as an epithet of scorn and ridicule, and both were at length adopted as party distinctions, coming in place of those which had been used during the Civil War, the word Tory superseding the term of Cavalier, and Whig being applied instead of Roundhead. The same terms of distinction have descended to our time, as expressing the outlines of the two political parties which divide the Houses of Parliament, and, viewed politically, the whole mass of the community. A man who considers that, in the general view of the constitution, the monarchical power is in danger of being undermined by the popular branches, and who therefore supports the Crown in ordinary cases of dispute, is a Tory; while one who conceives the power of the Crown to be more likely to encroach upon the liberties of the people, throws his weight and influence into the popular scale, and is called a Whig.

Either of these opinions may be honourably and conscientiously maintained by the party whom reflection or education has led to adopt it; and the existence of two such parties, opposing each other with reason and moderation, and by constitutional means only, is the sure mode of preventing encroachment, either on the rights of the Crown, or on the privileges of the people, and of keeping the constitution itself inviolate; as the stays and rigging of a vessel straining against each other in opposite di-

rections, tend to keep the ship's mast upright in its place. But as it is natural for men to drive favourite opinions into extremes, it has frequently happened, that the Whigs, or the more violent part of that faction, have entertained opinions which tended towards democracy; and that the Tories, on the other hand, indulging in opposite prejudices, have endangered the constitution by their tendency towards absolute rule.

Thus, in the great Civil War, the friends to popular freedom began their opposition to Charles I., in the laudable desire to regain the full extent of constitutional liberty, but could not bring the war to a conclusion until the monarchy was totally overthrown, and liberty overwhelmed in the ruins. In like manner, the Tories of Charles II. and James II.'s time, remembering the fatal issue of the Civil Wars, adopted the opposite and equally mistaken opinion, that no check could be opposed to the will of the sovereign, without danger of overthrowing the throne, and by their unlimited desire to enlarge the prerogative of the Crown, they not only endangered the national liberty, but conducted the deluded Sovereign to his ruin. When, therefore, we speak of any particular measure adopted by the Whigs or Tories, it would be very rash to consider it as deserving of censure or applause, merely on account of its having originated with the one or other of these parties. On the contrary, its real merits can only be soundly estimated when we have attentively considered its purpose and effect, compared with the general spirit

of the constitution, and with the exigencies of the times when it was brought forward.

During the whole of Charles the Second's reign, a violent struggle had been continued in England between the Whigs and the Tories, in the course of which both parties acted with a furious animosity, which admitted of no scruple concerning the means to be resorted to for annoying their adversaries. The Whig party had availed themselves of that detestable imposture called the Popish Plot to throw upon the Tories the guilt of an attempt to massacre the Protestants, and bring England back to the Catholic faith by the sword. Under this pretext they shed no small quantity of innocent blood. The Tories regained a decided ascendency by the discovery of the Ryehouse Plot, an atrocious enterprise, at which men's minds revolted, and which the court artfully improved, by confounding the more moderate schemes laid by Monmouth, Lord Russell, and others, for obtaining some relief from the oppressive and unconstitutional measures of the court, with the bloody measures against the King's person, which Rumbold and other desperate men had meditated. The general hatred inspired by the latter enterprise, excited a wide-spread clamour against the conspirators, and the Tories in their turn became the instruments of sacrificing, on account of a conspiracy of which they were ignorant, Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, two men whose names, for free and courageous sentiments, will live for ever in history.

The prejudice against the Whigs had not sub-

sided, when James ascended the throne; and the terrible mode in which the invasion of Monmouth was suppressed and punished, if it excited compassion for the sufferers, spread, at the same time, general dread of the Government. In these circumstances, the whole powers of the state seemed about to be surrendered to the King, without even a recollection of the value of national liberty, or of the blood which had been spent in its defence. The danger was the greater, that a large proportion of the national clergy were extravagant Royalists, who had adopted maxims utterly inconsistent with freedom, and with the very essence of the British constitution. They contended that the right of kings flowed from God, and that they were responsible to Him only for the manner in which they exercised it; that no misconduct, however gross, no oppression, however unjust, gave the subject any right to defend his person or his property against the violence of the sovereign; and that any attempt at resistance, however provoked, was contrary alike to religion and to law, and rendered its author liable to punishment in this world for treason or sedition, and in that which is to come to eternal condemnation, as foes of the prince whom Heaven had made their anointed sovereign. Such were the base and slavish maxims into which many wise, good, and learned men were hurried, from the recollection of the horrors of civil war, the death of Charles I., and the destruction of the Hierarchy; and thus do men endeavour to avoid

the repetition of one class of crimes and errors, by rushing into extremes of a different description.

James II. was unquestionably desirous of power; yet such was the readiness with which courts of justice placed at his feet the persons and property of his subjects, and so great the zeal with which many of the clergy were disposed to exalt his authority into something of a sacred character, accountable for his actions to Heaven alone, that it must have seemed impossible for him to form any demand for an extension of authority which would not have been readily conceded to him, on the slightest hint of his pleasure. But it was the misfortune of this monarch to conceive, that the same sophistry by which divines and lawyers placed the property and personal freedom of his subjects at his unlimited disposal, extended his power over the freedom of their consciences also.

We have often repeated, that James was himself a Roman Catholic; and, as a sincere professor of that faith, he was not only disposed, but bound, as far as possible, to bring others into the pale of the church, beyond which, according to the Popish belief, there is no salvation. He might also flatter himself, that the indulgences of a life which had been in some respects irregular, might be obliterated and atoned for by the great and important service of ending the Northern heresy. To James's sanguine hopes, there appeared at this time a greater chance of so important a change being accomplished than at any former period. His own power, if he were to trust the expressions of the

predominant party in the state, was at least as extensive over the bodies and minds of his subjects as that of the Tudor family, under whose dynasty the religion of England four times changed its form, at the will and pleasure of the sovereign. James might, therefore, flatter himself, that as Henry VIII., by his sole fiat, detached England from the Pope, and assumed in his own person the office of Head of the Church, so a submissive clergy, and a willing people, might, at a similar expression of the present sovereign's will and pleasure, return again under the dominion of the Holy Father, when they beheld their prince surrender to him, as a usurpation, the right of supremacy which his predecessor had seized upon.

But there was a fallacy in this reasoning. The Reformation presented to the English nation advantages both spiritual and temporal, of which they must necessarily be deprived, by a reconciliation with Rome. The former revolution was a calling from darkness into light, from ignorance into knowledge, from the bondage of priestcraft into freedom; and a mandate of Henry VIII., recommending a change fraught with such advantages, was sure to be promptly obeyed. The purpose of James, on the contrary, tended to restore the ignorance of the dark ages, to lock up the Scriptures from the use of laymen, to bring back observances and articles of faith which were the offspring of superstitious credulity, and which the increasing knowledge of more than a century had taught men to despise.

Neither would a reconciliation with Rome have been more favourable to those, who looked to a change of religion only as the means of obtaining temporal advantages. The acquiescence of the nobility in the Reformation had been easily purchased by the spoils of the church property; but their descendants, the present possessors, would have every reason to apprehend, that a return to the Catholic religion might be cemented by a resumption of the church lands, which had been confiscated at the Reformation.

Thus the alteration which James proposed to accomplish in the national religion, was a task as different from that effected by Henry VIII., as is that of pushing a stone up hill, from assisting its natural impulse by rolling it downwards. Similar strength may indeed be applied in both cases, but the result of the two attempts must be materially different. This distinction James did not perceive; and he persevered in his rash attempt, in an evil hour for his own power, but a fortunate one for the freedom of his subjects, who, being called on to struggle for their religion, re-asserted their half-surrendered liberty, as the only mode by which they could obtain effectual means of resistance.

CHAPTER LIV.

Attempts of James II. to annul the Test Act and Penal Statutes against Roman Catholics—Proclamation annulling the Oath of Supremacy and Test—Continued efforts to introduce the Catholic Ascendency — Attempted Invasion of the Rights of the Universities — Prosecution of the Bishops—Views of the Prince of Orange—how modified by the Birth of the Prince of Wales — Invasion of the Prince of Orange—Flight of James—Revolution of 1688 *—William and Mary called to the Throne of England.*

[1685—1688.]

In attempting the rash plan, which doubtless had for its object the establishment of the Catholic religion in his dominions, James II., in his speech to the first English Parliament after Monmouth's defeat, acquainted them with his intentions in two particulars, both highly alarming in the existing temper of the public. The first was, that having seen, as he said, from the example of the last rebellion, that the militia were not adequate to maintain the defence of the kingdom, it was the King's purpose in future to maintain a body of regular troops, for whose pay he requested the House of Commons would make provision. The second point was no less ominous. The King desired, that no man

should object if he employed some officers in the army who were not qualified according to the Test Act. "They were persons," he said, "well-known to him; and having had the benefit of their assistance in a time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their services on a future occasion."

To understand what this alluded to, you must be informed that the Test Act was contrived to exclude all persons from offices of public trust, commissions in the army, and the like, who should not previously take the test oath, declaring themselves Protestants, according to the Church of England King James's speech from the throne, therefore, intimated, first, that he intended to maintain a standing military force, and, secondly, that it was his purpose to officer these in a great measure with Papists, whom he designed thus to employ, although they could not take the test.

Both these suspicious and exceptionable measures being so bluntly announced, created great alarm. When it was moved in the House of Lords, that thanks be returned for the King's speech, Lord Halifax said, that thanks were indeed due to his Majesty, but it was because he had frankly let them see the point he aimed at. In the House of Commons, the reception of the speech was more markedly unfavourable; and an address was voted, representing that the Papist officers lay under disabilities, which could only be removed by Act of Parliament.

This intimation was ill received by the King in his turn, who expressed himself displeased at the implied jealousy of his purposes. The House remained in profound silence for some time, until Mr Cook stood up and said, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our duty by a few hard words." This was considered as censurable language, and the gentleman who used it was sent to the Tower. The King presently afterwards prorogued the Parliament, which never met again during the short remainder of his reign.

Highly exasperated and disappointed at the unexpected and unfavourable reception which his propositions in favour of the Roman Catholics had received from the English Parliament, James determined that the legislature of Scotland, which till now had studied to fulfil, and even anticipate, his slightest wishes, should show their southern neighbours, in this instance also, the example of submission to the will of their sovereign. In order to induce them, and particularly the representatives of the burghs, to consent without hesitation, he promised a free intercourse of trade with England, and an ample indemnity for all past offences; measures which he justly regarded as essential to the welfare of Scotland. But these highly desirable favours were clogged by a request, proposed as a sort of condition, that the penal laws should be abolished, and the test withdrawn. The Scottish Parliament, hitherto so submissive, were alarmed at this proposal, which although it commenced only

by putting Popery on a level with the established religion, was likely, they thought, to end in overturning the Reformed doctrines, and replacing those of the Church of Rome.

It is true that the Scottish penal laws respecting the Roman Catholics were of the most severe and harsh character. The punishments for assisting at the celebration of the mass, were, for the first offence, confiscation and corporal punishment; for the second, banishment, and to the third the pains of treason were annexed. These tyrannical laws had been introduced at a violent period, when those who had just shaken off the yoke of Popery were desirous to prevent, by every means, the slightest chance of its being again imposed on them, and when, being irritated by the recollection of the severities inflicted by the Roman Catholics on those whom they termed heretics, the Protestants were naturally disposed to retaliate upon the sect by whom intolerant cruelties had been practised.

But although little could be said in defence of these laws, when the Catholics were reduced to a state of submission, the greater part by far of the people of Scotland desired that they should continue to exist, as a defence to the Reformed religion, in case the Papists should at some future period attempt to recover their ascendency. They urged, that while the Catholics remained quiet there had been no recent instance of the penal laws being executed against them, and that therefore, since they were already in actual enjoyment of absolute freedom of conscience, the only purpose of the pro-

posed abolition of the penal laws must be, to effect the King's purpose of bringing the Catholics forward into public situations, as the favoured ministers of the King, and professing the same religion with his Majesty.

Then in respect to the test oath, men remembered that it had been the contrivance of James himself; deemed so sacred, that Argyle had been condemned to death for even slightly qualifying it; and declared so necessary to the safety, nay existence, of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, that it was forced upon Presbyterians at the sword's point. The Protestants, therefore, of every description, were terrified at the test's being dispensed with in the case of the Roman Catholics, who, supported as they were by the King's favour, were justly to be regarded as the most formidable enemies of all whom their Church termed heretics.

The consequence of all this reasoning was, that the Episcopal party in Scotland, who had hitherto complied with every measure which James had proposed, now stopped short in their career, and would no longer keep pace with his wishes. He could get no answer from the Scottish Parliament, excepting the ambiguous expression, that they would do as much for the relief of the Catholics as their consciences would permit.

But James, although he applied to Parliament in the first instance, had, in case he found that assembly opposed to his wishes, secretly formed the resolution of taking away the effect of the penal laws, and removing the Test Act, by his own royal

prerogative; not regarding the hatred and jealousy which he was sure to excite, by a course of conduct offensive at once to the liberties of his subjects, and threatening the stability of the Reformed religion.

The pretence on which this stretch of his royal prerogative was exerted, was very slender. The right indeed had been claimed, and occasionally exercised, by the Kings of England, of dispensing with penal statutes in such individual cases as might require exception or indulgence. This right somewhat resembled the Crown's power of pardoning criminals whom the law has adjudged to death; but, like the power of pardon, the dispensing privilege could only be considered as extending to cases attended with peculiar circumstances. So that when the King pretended to suspend the effect of the penal laws in all instances whatever, it was just as if, being admitted to be possessed of the power of pardoning a man convicted of murder, he had claimed the right to pronounce that murder should in no case be held a capital crime. This reasoning was unanswerable. Nevertheless, at the risk of all the disaffection which such conduct was certain to excite, James was rash enough to put forth a royal proclamation, in which, by his own authority, he dispensed at once with all the penal laws affecting Catholics, and annulled the oath of Supremacy and the Test, so that a Catholic became as eligible for public employment as a Protestant. At the same time, to maintain some appearance of impartiality, an indulgence was granted to moderate Presbyterians, while the laws against the conven-

ticles which met in arms, and in the open fields, were confirmed and enforced.

In this arbitrary and violent proceeding, James was chiefly directed by a few Catholic counsellors, none of whom had much reputation for talent, while most of them were inspired by a misjudging zeal for their religion, and imagined they saw the restoration of Popery at hand. To these must be added two or three statesmen, who, being originally Protestants, had adopted the Catholic religion in compliance with the wishes of the King. From these men, who had sacrificed conscience and decency to court favour, the very worst advice was to be apprehended, since they were sure to assert to extremity the character which they had adopted on the ground of self-interest. Such a minister was the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, who served the King's pleasure to the uttermost in that kingdom;[1] and such, too, was the far more able and dangerous Earl of Sunderland in England, who, under the guise of the most obsequious obedience to the King's pleasure, made it his study to drive James on to the most extravagant measures, with the secret resolution of deserting him

[1] ["Some differences fell in between the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Perth—all the court justified the Duke A repartee of the Marquis of Halifax was much talked of on this occasion. The Earl of Perth was taking pains to convince him that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The Marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, 'his faith' (alluding to the change of his creed) '*would make him whole;*' and it proved so." —BURNET, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65.]

as soon as he should see him in danger of perishing by means of the tempest which he had encouraged him wantonly to provoke.

The sincerity of those converts who change their faith at a moment when favour and power can be obtained by the exchange, must always be doubtful, and no character inspires more contempt than that of an apostate who deserts his religion for love of gain. Not, however, listening to these obvious considerations, the King seemed to press on the conversion of his subjects to the Roman Catholic faith, without observing that each proselyte, by the fact of becoming so, was rendered generally contemptible, and lost any influence he might have formerly possessed. Indeed, the King's rage for making converts was driven to such a height by his obsequious ministers, that an ignorant negro, the servant or slave of one Reid, a mountebank, was publicly baptized after the Catholic ritual upon a stage in the High Street of Edinburgh, and christened James, in honour, it was said, of the Lord Chancellor James Earl of Perth, King James himself, and the Apostle James.

While the King was deserted by his old friends and allies of the Episcopal Church, he probably expected that his enemies the Presbyterians would have been conciliated by the unexpected lenity which they experienced. To bring this about, the Indulgence was gradually extended until it comprehended almost a total abrogation of all the oppressive laws respecting fanatics and conventicles, the Cameronians alone being excepted, who dis-

owned the King's authority. But the Protestant nonconformists, being wise enough to penetrate into the schemes of the Prince, remained determined not to form a union with the Catholics, and generally refused to believe that the King had any other object in view than the destruction of Protestants of every description.

Some ministers, indeed, received the toleration with thanks and flattery; and several Presbyterians of rank accepted offices under Government in the room of Episcopalians, who had resigned rather than acquiesce in the dispensation of the penal laws. But, to use their own expressions, the more clear-sighted Presbyterians plainly saw that they had been less aggrieved with the wounds, stabs, and strokes, which the church had formerly received, than by this pretended Indulgence, which they likened to the cruel courtesy of Joab, who gave a salute to Abner, while at the same time he stabbed him under the fifth rib. This was openly maintained by one large party among the Presbyterians, while the more moderate admitted, that Heaven had indeed made the King its instrument to procure some advantage to the church; but that being convinced the favour shown to them was not sincere, but bestowed with the purpose of disuniting Protestants amongst themselves, they owed James little gratitude for that which he bestowed, not from any good-will to them, but to further his own ends.

These discords between the King and his former friends in Scotland occasioned many changes in the administration of the country. The Duke of

Queensberry, who had succeeded Lauderdale in his unlimited authority, and had shown the same disposition to gratify the King on all former occasions, was now disgraced on account of his reluctance to assent to the rash measures adopted in favour of the Catholics. Perth and Melfort, the last also a convert to the Catholic faith, were placed at the head of the administration. On the other hand, Sir George MacKenzie, long King's advocate, and so severe against the Covenanters that he received the name of the Bloody MacKenzie, refused to countenance the revocation of the penal laws, and was, like Queensberry, deprived of his office. Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, named in his stead, was a Presbyterian of the more rigid sort, such as were usually called fanatics. Judges were also created from the same oppressed party. But none of the nonconformists so promoted, however gratified with their own advancement, either forgot the severity with which their sect had been treated, through the express interference and influence of James, or gave the infatuated monarch credit for sincerity in his apparent change of disposition towards them.

Insensible to the general loss of his friends and partisans, James proceeded to press the exercise of his dispensing power. By a new order from court, the most ridiculous and irritating that could well be imagined, all persons in civil employment, without exception, were ordered to lay down their offices, and resume them again by a new commission, without taking the test; which reassumption,

being an act done against the existing laws, they were required instantly to wipe out, by taking out a remission from the Crown, for obeying the royal command. And it was declared, that such as did not obtain such a remission, should be afterwards incapable of pardon, and subjected to all the penalties of not having taken the test. Thus, the King laid his commands upon his subjects to break one of the standing laws of the kingdom, and then stood prepared to enforce against them the penalty which they had incurred (a penalty due to the Crown itself), unless they consented to shelter themselves by accepting a pardon from the King for a crime which they had committed by his order, and thus far acknowledge his illegal power to suspend the laws. In this manner, it was expected that all official persons would be compelled personally to act under and acknowledge the King's power of dispensing with the constitution.

In England, the same course of misgovernment was so openly pursued, that no room was left the people to doubt that James designed to imitate the conduct of his friend and ally, Louis XIV. of France, in the usurpation of despotic power over the bodies and consciences of his subjects. It was just about this time that the French monarch revoked the toleration which had been granted by Henry IV. to the French Protestants, and forced upwards of half a million of his subjects, offending in nothing excepting their worshipping God after the Protestant manner, into exile from their native country. Many thousands of these persecuted men

found refuge in Great Britain, and by the accounts they gave of the injustice and cruelty with which they had been treated, increased the general hatred and dread of the Catholic religion, and in consequence the public jealousy of a prince, who was the bigoted follower of its tenets.

But James was totally blind to the dangerous precipice on which he stood, and imagined that the murmurs of the people might be suppressed by the large standing army which he maintained, a considerable part of which, in order to overawe the city of London, lay encamped on Hounslow-Heath.

To be still more assured of the fidelity of his army, the King was desirous to introduce amongst them a number of Catholic officers, and also to convert as many of the soldiers as possible to that religion. But even among a set of men, who from their habits are the most disposed to obedience, and perhaps the most indifferent about religious distinctions, the name of Papist was odious; and the few soldiers who embraced that persuasion were treated by their comrades with ridicule and contempt.

In a word, any prince less obstinate and bigoted than James, might easily have seen that the army would not become his instrument in altering the laws and religion of the country. But he proceeded, with the most reckless indifference, to provoke a struggle, which it was plain must be maintained against the universal sentiments of his subjects. He had the folly not only to set up the Catholic

worship in his royal chapel, with the greatest pomp and publicity, but to send an ambassador, Lord Castlemaine, to the Pope, to invite his Holiness to countenance his proceedings, by affording him the presence of a nuncio from the See of Rome. Such a communication was, by the law of England, an act of high treason, and excited the deepest resentment in England, while abroad it was rather ridiculed than applauded. Even the Pope himself afforded the bigoted monarch very little countenance in his undertaking, being probably of opinion that James's movements were too violent to be secure. His Holiness was also on indifferent terms with Louis XIV., of whom James was a faithful ally, and, on the whole, the Pope was so little disposed to sympathize with the imprudent efforts of the English Monarch in favour of the Catholic religion, that he contrived to evade every attempt of Lord Castlemaine to enter upon business, by affecting a violent fit of coughing whenever the conversation took that turn. Yet even this coldness, on the part of the head of his own Church, who might be supposed favourable to James's views, and so intimately concerned in the issue of his attempt, did not chill the insane zeal of the English monarch.

To attain his purpose with some degree of grace from Parliament, which, though he affected to despise it, he was still desirous of conciliating, the King took the most unconstitutional measures to influence the members of both houses. One mode was by admitting individuals to private audiences, called Closetings, and using all the personal argu-

ments, promises, and threats, which his situation enabled him to enforce, for the purpose of inducing the members to comply with his views. He extorted also, from many of the royal burghs, both in England and Scotland, the surrender of their charters, and substituted others which placed the nomination of their representatives to Parliament in the hands of the Crown; and he persisted obstinately in removing Protestants from all offices of honour and trust in the government, and in filling their situations with Papists. Even his own brothers-in-law, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, were disgraced, or at least dismissed from their employments, because they would not sacrifice their religious principles to the King's arguments and promises.

Amid so many subjects of jealousy, all uniting to show, that it was the purpose of the King to assume arbitrary power, and by the force of tyranny over the rights and lives of his subjects, to achieve a change in the national religion, those operations which immediately affected the church, were the objects of peculiar attention.

As early in his unhappy career as 1686, the year following that of his accession to the throne, James had ventured to re-establish one of the most obnoxious institutions in his father's reign, namely, the Court of High Ecclesiastical Commission, for trying all offences of the clergy. This oppressive and vexatious judicature had been abolished in Charles the First's time,[1] along with the Star-

[1] ["The act that put down the High Commission in the year

Chamber, and it was declared by act of Parliament that neither of them should ever be again erected. Yet the King, in spite of experience and of law, recalled to life this oppressive court of Ecclesiastical Commission, in order to employ its arbitrary authority in support of the cause of Popery. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, had preached with vehemence in the controversy between Protestants and Catholics, and some of the expressions he made use of were interpreted to reflect on the King.[1] Sharpe endeavoured to apologize, but nevertheless the Bishop of London received orders to suspend the preacher from his functions. That prelate excused himself from obedience, because he had no power

1640, had provided by a clause, as full as could be conceived, that no court should be ever set up for those matters besides the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. Yet, in contempt of that, a court was erected, with full power to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way in all ecclesiastical matters, without limitation to any rule of law in their proceedings. This stretch of the supremacy, so contrary to law, was assumed by a King, whose religion made him condemn all that supremacy that the law had vested in the crown."—BURNET, vol. iii. p. 102.]

[1] ["Dr Sharpe, rector of St Giles, was both a very pious man and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper, sent him, as he believed, by a priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it; and after he had confuted it, concluded by showing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to Court, and represented there as a reflection on the King for changing on these grounds. He used to recommend to young divines the reading of the Scriptures and of Shakspeare."—BURNET, vol. iii. pp. 100–101.]

to proceed thus summarily against a person not convicted of any offence. The Bishop's excuse, as well as Sharpe's apology, were disregarded, and both were suspended from their functions by this illegal court; the preacher, because he exerted himself, as his profession required, in combating the arguments by which many were seduced from the Protestant faith; the prelate, because he declined to be an instrument of illegal oppression. The people saw the result of this trial, with a deep sense of the illegality shown, and the injustice inflicted.

The Universities were equally the object of the King's unprovoked aggressions. It was in their bosom that the youth of the kingdom, more especially those destined for the clerical profession, were educated, and James naturally concluded, that to introduce the Catholic influence into these two great and learned bodies, would prove a most important step in his grand plan of re-establishing that religion in England.

The experiment upon Cambridge was a slight one. The King, by his mandate, required the University to confer a degree of master of arts upon Father Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk. Academical honours of this kind are generally conferred without respect to the religion of the party receiving them; and indeed the University had, not very long before, admitted a Mahomedan to the degree of master of arts; but that was an honorary degree only, whereas the degree demanded for the Benedictine monk inferred a right

to sit and vote in the elections of the University, whose members, considering that the Papists so introduced might soon control the Protestants, resolved to oppose the King's purpose in the commencement, and refused to grant the degree required. The Court of High Commission suspended the vice-chancellor, but the University chose a man of the same determined spirit in his room; so that the King was not the nearer to his object, which he was compelled for the present to abandon.

Oxford, however, was attacked with more violence, and the consequences were more important. That celebrated University had been distinguished by its unalterable attachment to the royal cause. When Charles I. was compelled to quit London, he found a retreat at Oxford, where the various colleges expended in supporting his cause whatever wealth they possessed, while many members of the University exposed their lives in his service. In Charles the Second's time, Oxford, on account of its inflexible loyalty, had been chosen as the place where the King convoked a short Parliament, when the interest of the Whigs in the city of London was so strong as to render him fearful of remaining in its vicinity. It was less to the honour of this University, that it had shown itself the most zealous in expressing, and enforcing by its ordinances, the slavish tenets of passive obedience and non-resistance to the royal authority, which were then professed by many of the members of the Church of England; but it was an

additional proof that their devotion to the King was almost unlimited.

But if James recollected any thing whatever of these marks of loyalty to the Crown, the remembrance served only to encourage him in his attack upon the privileges of the University, in the belief that they would not be firmly resisted. With ingratitude, therefore, as well as folly, he proceeded to intrude his mandate on the society of Magdalen College, commanding them to choose for their president one of the new converts to the Catholic religion, and on their refusal, expelled them from the college; thus depriving them of their revenues and endowments, because they would not transgress the statutes, to the observance of which they had solemnly sworn.

A still more fatal error, which seems indeed to have carried James's imprudence to the uttermost, was the ever-memorable prosecution of the bishops, which had its origin in the following circumstances. In 1688, James published a second declaration of indulgence, with an order subjoined, by which it was appointed to be read in all the churches. The greater part of the English bishops, disapproving of the King's pretended prerogative of dispensing with the test and penal laws, resolved to refuse obedience to this order, which, as their sentiments were well known, could only be intended to disgrace them in the eyes of the people. Six of the most distinguished of the prelates joined with [Sancroft] the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a humble pe-

tition to the King,[1] praying his Majesty would dispense with their causing to be published in their dioceses a declaration founded upon the claim of royal dispensation, which claim having been repeatedly declared illegal, the petitioners could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, be accessory to distributing a paper, which asserted its validity in so solemn a manner all over the nation.

The King was highly incensed at this remonstrance, and summoning the seven prelates before his Privy Council, he demanded of them if they owned and adhered to their petition. They at once acknowledged that they did so, and were instantly committed to the Tower, on a charge of sedition. The rank and respectability of these distinguished men, the nature of the charge against whom, in the popular apprehension, was an attempt to punish them for a bold, yet respectful discharge of their high duties, coupled with the anxious dread of what might be expected to follow such a violent procedure, wrought up the minds of the people to the highest pitch.

An immense multitude assembled on the banks of the Thames, and beheld with grief and wonder those fathers of the Church conveyed to prison in

[1] [The King, when he heard their petitions, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said he was their king, and he would be obeyed, and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six bishops were [Lloyd] St Asaph, [Turner] Ely, [Kew] Bath and Wells, [White] Peterborough, [Lake] Chichester, [Trelawney] Bristol. The answer they made the King was, '*The will of God be done;*' and they came from the court in a sort of triumph."—BURNET, vol. iii. p. 217.]

the boats appointed for that purpose. The enthusiasm was extreme. The spectators wept, they kneeled, they prayed for the safety of the prisoners, which was only endangered by the firmness with which they had held fast their duty; and the benedictions which the persecuted divines distributed on every side, were answered with the warmest wishes for their freedom, and the most unreserved avowal of their cause. All this enthusiasm of popular feeling was insufficient to open James's eyes to his madness. He urged on the proceedings against the prelates, who, on the 17th June, 1688, were brought to trial, and, after a long and most interesting hearing of their cause, were fully acquitted. The acclamations of the multitude were loud in proportion to the universal anxiety which prevailed while the case was in dependence; and when the news reached the camp at Hounslow, the extravagant rejoicings of the soldiers, unchecked by the King's own presence, showed that the army and the people were animated by the same spirit.

Yet James was so little influenced by this universal expression of adherence to the Protestant cause, that he continued his headlong career with a degree of rapidity, which compelled the reflecting part of the Catholics themselves to doubt and fear the event. He renewed his violent interference with the universities, endeavoured to thrust on Magdalen college a Popish bishop, and resolved to prosecute every clergyman who should refuse to read his declaration of indulgence, that is to say,

with the exception of an inconsiderable minority,[1] the whole clergy of the Church of England.

While the kingdoms of Scotland and England were agitated by these violent attempts to establish the Roman Catholic religion, their fears were roused to the highest pitch by observing with what gigantic strides the King was advancing to the same object in Ireland, where, the great body of the people being Catholics, he had no occasion to disguise his purposes. Lord Tyrconnell, a headstrong and violent man, and a Catholic of course, was appointed Viceroy, and proceeded to take every necessary step, by arming the Papists and depressing the Protestants, to prepare for a total change, in which the latter should be subjugated by a Catholic Parliament. The violence of the King's conduct in a country where he was not under the necessity of keeping any fair appearances, too plainly showed the Protestants of England and Scotland, that the measure, presented to them as one of general toleration for all Christian sects, was in fact designed to achieve the supremacy of the Catholic faith over heresy of every denomination.

During all this course of mal-administration, the

[1] ["Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above two hundred all England over; and of these some read it the first Sunday, but changed their minds before the second: others declared in their sermons that though they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration; and one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: in many places, as soon as the minister began to read it, all the people rose and went out."—BURNET, vol. iii., p. 218.]

sensible and prudent part of the nation kept their eyes fixed on William Prince of Orange, married, as I have before told you, to James's eldest daughter, Mary, and heir to the throne, unless it happened that the King should have a son by his present Queen. This was an event which had long been held improbable, for the children which the Queen had hitherto borne were of a very weak constitution, and did not long survive their birth; and James himself was now an elderly man.

The Prince of Orange, therefore, having a fair prospect of attaining the throne after his father-in-law's death, observed great caution in his communications with the numerous and various factions in England and Scotland; and even to those who expressed the greatest moderation and the purest sentiments of patriotism, he replied with a prudent reserve, exhorting them to patience, dissuading from all hasty insurrections, and pointing out to them, that the death of the King must put an end to the innovations which he was attempting on the constitution.

But an event took place which entirely altered the Prince of Orange's views and feelings, and forced him upon an enterprise, one of the most remarkable in its progress and consequences of any which the history of the world affords. Mary, Queen of England, and wife of James II., was delivered of a male child, on the 10th June, 1688. The Papists had long looked forward to this event as to one which should perpetuate the measures of the King in favour of the Roman Catholics after

his own death. They had, therefore, ventured to prophesy, that the expected infant would be a son, and they imputed the fulfilment of their wishes to the intervention of the Virgin Mary of Loretto, propitiated by prayers and pilgrimages.

The Protestant party, on the other hand, were disposed to consider the alleged birth of the infant, which had happened so seasonably for the Catholics, as the result not of a miracle of the Popish saints, but of a trick at court. They affirmed that the child was not really the son of James and his wife, but a supposititious infant, whom they were desirous to palm upon their subjects as the legal heir of the throne, in order to defeat the claim of the Protestant successors. This assertion, though gravely swallowed by the people, and widely spread amongst them, was totally without foundation; nor was it possible that there could exist more complete proof of such a fact, than James himself published to the world concerning the birth of this young Prince of Wales. But the King's declarations, and the evidence which he at length made public, were unable to bear down the calumny which was so widely and anxiously circulated. The leaders of the Protestant party, whatever they might themselves believe, took care to make the rumour of the alleged imposture as general as possible; and many, whose Tory principles would not have allowed them to oppose the succession of a prince really descended of the blood royal, stood prepared to dispute the right of the infant to succeed to the throne, on account of the alleged doubtfulness of his birth.

One thing, however, was certain, that whether the child was supposititious or not, his birth was likely to prolong the misgovernment under which the country groaned. There now no longer existed the prospect that James would be, at no distant date, succeeded by his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, with whom the Protestant religion must necessarily recover its predominance. This infant was of course to be trained up in the religion and principles of his father; and the influence of the dreaded spirit of Popery, instead of terminating with the present reign, would maintain and extend itself through that of a youthful successor. The Prince of Orange, on his part, seeing himself, by the birth and rights of this infant, excluded from the long-hoped-for succession to the crown of England, laid aside his caution, with the purpose of taking a bold and active interference in British politics.

He now publicly, though with decency, declared, that his sentiments were opposite to those on which his father-in-law acted, and that though he was disposed to give a hearty consent to repealing penal statutes in all cases, being of opinion that no one should be punished for his religious opinions, yet he could not acquiesce in the King's claim to dispense with the test, which only excluded from public offices those whose conscience would not permit them to conform to the established religion of the country in which they lived. Having thus openly declared his sentiments, the Prince of Orange was resorted to openly or secretly, by all

those, of whatever political opinions, who joined in the general fear for the religious and civil liberties of the country, which were threatened by the bigotry of James. Encouraged by the universal sentiments of the English nation, a few Catholics excepted, and by the urgent remonstrances of many of the leading men of all the various parties, the Prince of Orange resolved to appear in England at the head of an armed force, with the purpose of putting a stop to James's encroachments on the constitution in church and state.

Under various plausible pretexts, therefore, the Prince began to assemble a navy and army adequate to the bold invasion which he meditated; while neither the warning of the King of France, who penetrated the purpose of these preparations, nor a sense of the condition in which he himself stood, could induce James to take any adequate measures of defence.

The unfortunate Prince continued to follow the same measures which had lost him the hearts of his subjects, and every step he took encouraged and prompted disaffection. Dubious of the allegiance of his army, he endeavoured, by introducing Irish Catholics amongst them, to fill their ranks, in part at least, with men in whom he might repose more confidence. But the lieutenant-colonel and five captains of the regiment in which the experiment was first tried, refused to receive the proposed recruits; and though these officers were cashiered for doing so, yet their spirit was generally applauded by those of their own profession.

Another experiment on the soldiery had a still more mortifying result. Although it is contrary to the British constitution to engage soldiers under arms in the discussion of any political doctrine, since they must be regarded as the servants, not the counsellors of the state, nevertheless, James resolved, if possible, to obtain from the army their approbation of the repeal of the test and the penal statutes. By way of experiment, a single battalion was drawn up in his own presence, and informed, that they must either express their hearty acquiescence in the King's purposes in respect to these laws, or lay down their arms, such being the sole condition on which their services would be received. On hearing this appeal, the whole regiment, excepting two officers and a few Catholic soldiers, laid down their arms. The King stood mute with anger and disappointment, and at length told them, in a sullen and offended tone, to take up their arms and retire to their quarters, adding, that he would not again do them the honour to ask their opinions.

While James was thus extorting from his very soldiers opinions the most unfavourable to his measures, he suddenly received intelligence from his ambassador in Holland, that the Prince of Orange was about to put to sea with an army of fifteen thousand men, supplied by the States of Holland, and a fleet of five hundred sail.

Conscious that he had lost the best safeguard of a monarch,—namely, the love and affections of his subjects, this news came upon James like a thunder

clap. He hastened to retract all the measures which had rendered his reign so unpopular; but it was with a precipitation which showed fear, not conviction, and the people were persuaded that the concessions would be recalled as soon as the danger was over.

In the mean time, the Dutch fleet set sail. At first it encountered a storm, and was driven back into harbour. But the damage sustained by some of the vessels being speedily repaired, they again put to sea, and with so much activity, that the short delay proved rather of service than otherwise; for the English fleet, which had also been driven into harbour by the storm, could not be got ready to meet the invaders. Steering for the west of England, the Prince of Orange landed in Torbay, on the 5th November 1688, being the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, an era which seemed propitious to an enterprise commenced in opposition to the revival of Popery in England. 19th Oct.

Immediately on his landing, the Prince published a manifesto, setting forth, in plain and strong terms, the various encroachments made by the reigning monarch upon the British constitution, and upon the rights as well of the church as of private persons and corporate bodies. He came, he said, with an armed force, to protect his person from the King's evil counsellors, but declared that his only purpose was to have a full and free Parliament assembled, in order to procure a general settlement of religion, liberty, and property.

Notwithstanding that so many persons of rank and influence had privately encouraged the Prince of Orange to this undertaking,[1] there appeared at first very little alacrity to support him in carrying it through. The inhabitants of the western counties, where the Prince landed, were overawed by recollection of the fearful punishment inflicted upon those who had joined Monmouth, and the Prince had advanced to Exeter ere he was joined by any adherent of consequence. But from the time that one or two gentlemen of consideration joined him, a general commotion took place all over England, and the nobility and gentry assumed arms on every side for redress of the grievances set forth in the Prince's manifesto.

In the midst of this universal defection, King James gave orders to assemble his army, assigned Salisbury for his headquarters, and announced his purpose of fighting the invaders. But he was doomed to experience to what extent he had alienated the affections of his subjects by his bigoted and tyrannical conduct. Several noblemen and officers of rank publicly deserted, and carried off to the Prince's army numbers of their soldiers. Amongst these was Lord Churchill, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. He was a particular favourite of the unhappy King, who had bestowed a peerage on him, with high rank in the

[1] ["The Prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the Duke of Ormond, and was received with great applause by that loyal university, who also made an offer of their plate to the Prince." —HUME.]

army; and his desertion to the Prince on this occasion showed that the universal aversion to King James's measures had alienated the affections of those who would otherwise have been most devotedly attached to him.

A still more striking defection seems to have destroyed the remains of the unhappy Monarch's resolution. His second daughter, the Princess Anne, who was married to a younger son of the King of Denmark, called Prince George, escaped by night from London, under the protection of the Bishop of that city, who raised a body of horse for her safeguard, and rode armed at their head. She fled to Nottingham, where she was received by the Earl of Dorset, and declared for a free Protestant Parliament. Her husband, and other persons of the first distinction, joined the Prince of Orange.

The sudden and unexpected dissolution of his power, when every morning brought intelligence of some new defection or insurrection, totally destroyed the firmness of James, who, notwithstanding his folly and misconduct, becomes, in this period of unmitigated calamity, an object of our pity. At the tidings of his daughter's flight, he exclaimed, with the agony of paternal feeling, "God help me, my own children desert me!" In the extremity and desolation of his distress, the unfortunate monarch seems to have lost all those qualities which had gained him in earlier life the character of courage and sagacity; and the heedless rashness with which he had scorned the distant

danger, was only equalled by the prostrating degree of intimidation which now overwhelmed him.

He disbanded his army, to the great increase of the general confusion; and, finally, terrified by the recollection of his father's fate, he resolved to withdraw himself from his kingdom. It is probable that he could not have taken any resolution which would have been so grateful to the Prince of Orange. If James had remained in Britain, the extremity of his misfortunes would probably have awakened the popular compassion; and the tenets of the High Churchmen and Tories, although they had given way to their apprehensions for the safety of religion and liberty, might, when these were considered as safe, have raised many partisans to the distressed monarch. Besides, while King James remained in his dominions, it would have been an obnoxious and odious attempt, on the part of the Prince of Orange, to have plucked the crown forcibly from the head of his father-in-law, in order to place it upon his own. On the other hand, if the flight of the King into foreign countries should leave the throne unoccupied, nothing could be so natural as to place there the next Protestant heir of the crown, by whose providential interference the liberties and constitution of the country had been rescued from such imminent danger.

Fortune seemed at first adverse to an escape, which was desired by King James, owing to his fears, and by the Prince of Orange, in consequence of his hopes.[1] As the King, attended by one gen-

[1] ["By this temporary dissolution of Government, the popu-

tleman, endeavoured to get on board of a vessel prepared for his escape, they were seized by some rude fishermen, who were looking out to catch such priests and Catholics as were flying from the kingdom. At the hands of these men the unfortunate Monarch received some rough treatment, until the gentry of the country interposed for the protection of his person, but still refused to permit him to depart the kingdom. He was allowed, however, to return to London, where the rabble, with their usual mutability, and moved with compassion for the helpless state to which they beheld the King reduced, received him with acclamations of favour.

The Prince of Orange, not a little disappointed by this incident, seems to have determined to conduct himself towards his father-in-law with such a strain of coldness and severity as should alarm James for his personal safety, and determine him to resume his purpose of flight. With such a view, the Prince refused to receive the nobleman whom the King had sent to him to desire a conference, and ordered the messenger to be placed under arrest. In reply to the message, he issued a command, transmitted at midnight, that the King

lace were masters; and there was no disorder which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult, and destroyed all the mass-houses. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassadors, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died a little after."—HUME.]

should leave his palace the next morning. The dejected sovereign yielded to the mandate, and, at his own request, Rochester was assigned for his abode. That happened which must have been foreseen, from his choosing a place near the river as his temporary habitation. James privately embarked on board of a frigate, and was safely landed at Ambleteuse, in France. He was received by Louis XIV. with the utmost generosity and hospitality, and lived for many years at St Germains, under his protection and at his expense, excepting only during a short campaign (to be afterwards noticed) in Ireland. Every effort to replace him in his dominions, only proved destructive to those who were engaged in them. The exiled monarch was looked upon with reverence by sincere Catholics, who counted him as a martyr to his zeal for the form of religion which he and they professed; but by others he was ridiculed as a bigot, who had lost three kingdoms for the sake of a mass.

23d Dec.

A Convention, as it was called (in effect a Parliament, though not such in form, because it could not be summoned in the King's name), was convoked at Westminster; and, at their first meeting, they returned their unanimous thanks to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had achieved for the nation. The House of Commons then proceeded, by a great majority, to vote that King James had forfeited his regal title by a variety of encroachments on the constitution; that, by his flight, he had abdicated the government;

and that the throne was vacant. But as great part of this resolution was adverse to the doctrine of the Tories, who refused to adopt it, the mention of forfeiture was omitted; and it was finally settled, that by his evil administration, and subsequent flight from Britain, King James had *abdicated* the throne. And I cannot forbear to point out to you the singular wisdom of both the great parties in the state, who, by keeping the expressions of their resolution so general as to clash with the sentiments of neither, concurred in a measure so important, without starting any theoretical disputes to awaken party contention at a moment when the peace of England depended on unanimity.

The throne being thus declared vacant, the important question remained, by whom it should be filled. This was a point warmly disputed. The Tories were contented that the Prince of Orange should exercise the regal power, but only under the title of Regent. They could not reconcile themselves to the dethroning a King and electing his successor; and contended, that James's course of misconduct did not deprive him of his kingly right and title, but only operated like some malady, which rendered him unfit to have the exercise of regal power. The Whigs replied, that this doctrine would prevent the nation from deriving the desired advantages from the Revolution, since, if James was in any respect to be acknowledged as a sovereign, he might return and claim the power which is inalienable from the royal right. Besides, if James was still King, it was evident that his son,

who had been carried abroad, in order that he might be bred up in Popery, and in arbitrary doctrines, must be acknowledged after the death of James himself. They, therefore, declared for the necessity of filling up the vacant sovereignty. A third party endeavoured to find a middle opinion, with regard to which the objections applicable to those we have just expressed should not hold good. They proposed that the crown should be conferred on Mary, Princess of Orange, in her own right; thus passing over the infant Prince of Wales, and transferring their allegiance to Mary as the next Protestant heir of the crown.

The Prince of Orange, who had listened to, and watched these debates in silence, but with deep interest, now summoned a small council of leading persons, to whom he made his sentiments known.

He would not, he said, interfere in any respect with the right of the English Parliament to arrange their future government according to their own laws, or their own pleasure. But he felt it necessary to acquaint them, that if they chose to be governed by a Regent, he would not accept that office. Neither was he disposed to take the government of the kingdom under his wife, supposing she was chosen Queen. If either of these modes of settlement were adopted, he informed them he would retire entirely from all interference with British affairs. The Princess, his wife, seconded her husband's views, to whom she always paid the highest degree of conjugal deference.

The wisdom and power of the Prince of Orange, nay even the assistance of his military force, were absolutely indispensable to the settlement of England, divided as it was by two rival political parties, who had indeed been forced into union by the general fear of James's tyranny, but were ready to renew their dissensions the instant the overwhelming pressure of that fear was removed. The Convention were, therefore, obliged to regulate the succession to the throne upon the terms agreeable to the Prince of Orange. The Princess and he were called to the throne jointly, under the title of King William and Queen Mary, the survivor succeeding the party who should first die. The Princess Anne of Denmark, was named to succeed after the death of her sister and brother-in-law, and the claims of James's infant son were entirely passed over.

The Convention did not neglect this opportunity to annex to the settlement of the crown a Declaration of Rights, determining in favour of the subject those rights which had been contested during the late reigns, and drawing with more accuracy and precision than had hitherto been employed, the lines which circumscribe the royal authority.

Such was this memorable Revolution, which (saving a petty and accidental skirmish) decided the fate of a great kingdom without bloodshed, and in which, perhaps for the only time in history, the heads of the discordant factions of a great empire laid aside their mutual suspicion and animosity, and calmly and dispassionately discussed the great

concerns of the nation, without reference to their own interests, or those of their party. To the memory of this Convention, or Parliament, the Britannic kingdoms owe the inestimable blessing of a constitution, fixed on the decided and defined principles of civil and religious liberty.

CHAPTER LV.

State of Affairs in Scotland previous to the Revolution—Endeavours of James to secure the Scots to his interest—The Scottish army is ordered to England, and, on the Flight of James, joins the Prince of Orange—Expulsion of Captain Wallace from Holyrood House—Meeting of the Scottish Convention—Struggles of the Jacobite and Whig Parties—Secession of the Viscount of Dundee, and settlement of the Throne on King William—Disposal of Offices of trust in Scotland—Mr Carstairs confidentially consulted by King William.

[1688—1689.]

THE necessity of explaining the nature and progress of the Revolution of England, without which it would be impossible for you to comprehend what passed in the northern part of the kingdom, has drawn us away from the proper subject of this little book, and makes it necessary that we should return to our account of Scottish affairs during the time that these important events were taking place in England.

We have mentioned the discontents which existed among King James's most zealous friends in Scotland, on account of his pressing the revocation of the Test, and that several of the crown officers, and crown lawyers, and even two or three of the

judges, had been displaced for demurring to that measure, the vacancies being filled with Catholics or Presbyterians. You have also been told, that by this false policy, James lost the affection of his friends of the Episcopal church, without being able to conciliate his ancient enemies, the nonconformists.

Thus stood matters in Scotland, when, in September 1688, King James sent down to his council in Scotland, an account of the preparations making in Holland to invade England. Upon this alarming news, the militia were ordered to be in readiness; the Highland chiefs were directed to prepare their clans to take the field; and the vassals of the crown were modelled into regiments, and furnished with arms. These forces, joined to the standing army, would have made a considerable body of troops.

But unanimity, the soul of national resistance, was wanting. The Scottish Royalists were still so much attached to the Crown, and even to the person of James, that, notwithstanding the late causes of suspicion and discord which had occurred betwixt them and the King, there remained little doubt that they would have proved faithful to his cause. But the Presbyterians, even of the most moderate party, had suffered so severely at James's hand, both during his brother's reign, and his own, that it was hardly to be expected that a few glances of royal favour, to which they appeared to be admitted only because they could not be decently excluded from the toleration designed for the bene-

fit of the Catholics, should make them forget the recent terrors of the storm. Several of the gentry of this persuasion, however, seemed ready to serve the King, and obtained commissions in the militia; but the event showed that this was done with the purpose of acting more effectually against him.

The Earl of Perth endeavoured to ascertain the real sentiments of that numerous party, by applying to them through the medium of Sir Patrick Murray, a person who seemed attached to no particular sect, but who was esteemed by all. This gentleman applied to such leading Presbyterian ministers as were in Edinburgh, reminding them of the favours lately shown them by the King, and requesting they would now evince their gratitude, by influencing their hearers to oppose the unnatural invasion threatened by the Prince of Orange. The clergymen received the overture coldly, and declined to return an answer till there should be more of their brethren in town. Having in the interim obtained information, which led them to expect the ultimate success of the Prince of Orange, they sent as their answer to the Earl of Perth, through Sir Patrick Murray, "that they owned the King had of late been used as Heaven's instrument, to show them some favour; but being convinced that he had done so, only with a design to ruin the Protestant religion, by introducing dissension among its professors of different denominations, and observing, that the persons whom he voluntarily raised to power, were either Papists, or persons popishly inclined, they desired to be excused from giving any farther

answer, saving that they would conduct themselves in this juncture as God should inspire them."

From this answer, it was plain that James was to expect nothing from the Presbyterians; yet they remained silent and quiet, waiting the event, and overawed by the regular troops, who were posted in such places as to prevent open insurrection.

The disaffection of the English soldiery having alarmed James's suspicions, he sent orders that his Scottish army should be drawn together, and held in readiness to march into England. The Scottish administration answered by a remonstrance, that this measure would leave the government of Scotland totally defenceless, and encourage the disaffected, who could not but think the affairs of King James were desperate, since he could not dispense with the assistance of so small a body of troops. To this remonstrance the King replied by a positive order, that the Scottish army should advance into England.

This little army might consist of six or seven thousand excellent troops, commanded by James Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, as General-in-chief, and by the more celebrated John Graham of Claverhouse, recently created Viscount of Dundee, as Major-General. The former was secretly a favourer of the Prince of Orange's enterprise. Viscount Dundee, on the other hand, was devotedly attached to the cause of King James, and redeemed some of his fiercer and more cruel propensities, by the virtue of attaching himself to his benefactor, when he was forsaken by all the world

besides. It is said, that the march was protracted by Douglas, lest the steadiness of the Scottish army should have served as an example to the English. At length, however, they reached London, where the Viscount of Dundee claimed a right to command, as eldest Major-General; but the English officers of the same rank, whether out of national jealousy, or that Dundee's obtaining so high a rank might have interfered with their private schemes, positively refused to serve under him. It is said, that, in the event of his obtaining this command, his design was to assemble such English troops as yet remained faithful, and, at the head of these and the Scottish army, to have marched against the Prince of Orange, and given him battle. But this scheme, which must have cost much bloodshed, was defeated by the refusal of the English officers to fight under him.

King James, amidst the distraction of his affairs, requested the advice of this sagacious and determined adherent, who pointed out to him three courses. The first was, to try the fate of war, by manfully fighting the Prince of Orange. The second alternative was, to meet him in friendship, and require to know his purpose. The third was, to retire into Scotland, under protection of the little army which had marched to support him. The King, it is said, was inclined to try the third alternative; but, as he received intelligence that several Scottish peers and gentlemen were come post to London, to wait on the Prince of Orange, he justly doubted whether that kingdom would

have proved a safer place of refuge than England. Indeed, he presently afterwards heard, that one of Douglas's battalions had caught the spirit of desertion, and gone over to the Prince.

Shortly after this untoward event, Dundee, with such of his principal officers as adhered to the cause of James, received assurances of the King's disposition to hazard battle, and were commanded to meet him at Uxbridge, to consult upon the movements to be adopted. When the Scottish officers reached the place appointed, instead of meeting with the King, they learned that their misguided Monarch had fled, and received the fatal order to disband their forces. Dundee, with the Lords Linlithgow and Dunmore, shed tears of grief and mortification. In the uncertainty of the times, Dundee resolved to keep his forces together, until he had conducted them back into Scotland. With this view he took up his quarters at Watford, intending to retreat on the ensuing morning. In the mean while, the town's-people, who did not like the company of these northern soldiers, raised a report during the course of the night that the Prince of Orange was coming to attack them, hoping, by this false alarm, to frighten the Scottish troops from the place sooner than they intended. But Dundee was not a person to be so easily startled. To the great alarm of the citizens, he caused his trumpets sound to arms, and taking up a strong position in front of the town, sent out to reconnoitre, and learn the intentions of the Prince of Orange. Thus the stratagem of the citizens of Watford only brought

on themselves the chance of a battle in front of their town, which was most likely to suffer in the conflict, be the event what it would.

But the Prince of Orange knew Dundee's character well. He had served his early campaigns under that Prince, and had merited his regard, not only by a diligent discharge of his duty, but also by rescuing William at the battle of Seneff in 1674, and remounting him on his own horse, when that of the Prince was slain under him.[1] Dundee had left the Dutch service, on being disappointed of a regiment.

Knowing, therefore, the courage, talent, and obstinacy of the Scottish commander, the Prince of Orange took the step of assuring the Viscount of Dundee, that he had not the least purpose of molesting him, and that, understanding he was at Watford, and was keeping his men embodied, he had to request he would remain there till further orders. When the news of the King's return to London was rumoured, Dundee went to assure his old master of his continued attachment, and to receive his orders; and it is said he even, in that moment of universal despair, offered to assemble the dispersed troops of the King, and try the fate of war. But James's spirit was too much broken to stand such a hazard.

[1] ["After sunset, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkness at last, not the weariness of the combatants, which put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. 'The Prince of Orange,' said Condé, with candour and generosity, 'has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier.'"—HUME, chap. 66.]

On James's final flight to France, and the decision of the Convention, elevating the Prince and Princess of Orange to the throne, Dundee would no longer retain his command, but retired to Scotland, at the head of a body-guard of twenty or thirty horse, who would not quit him, and without whose protection he could not perhaps have passed safely through the southern and western counties, where he had exercised so many severities. The Scottish army, or what remained of it, was put under the command of General MacKay, an officer attached to King William, and transferred to the service of the new Monarch, though there were many amongst them who cast a lingering eye towards that of their old master.

In the mean time, the Revolution had been effected in Scotland, though not with the same unanimity as in England. On the contrary, the Episcopalians throughout the kingdom, in spite of all the provocations which they had received, could not prevail upon themselves to join in any measures which should be unfavourable to James's interest, and would probably have appeared in arms in his cause, had there been any one present in Scotland to raise and uphold the exiled monarch's banner.

The Scottish prelates, in particular, hastened to show, that in the extremity of King James's misfortunes, they had forgotten their rupture with him, and had returned to the principles of passive obedience, by which their church was distinguished. On the 3d November, the whole of their num-

ber, excepting the Bishops of Argyle and Caithness, joined in a letter to the King, professing their own fixed and unshaken loyalty, promising their utmost efforts to promote among his subjects an *intemerable* and steadfast allegiance, and praying that Heaven would give the King the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.

But the defenceless state in which King James's Scottish government was left, after the march of Douglas and Dundee into England at the head of the regular forces, rendered the good wishes of the bishops of little service. It soon began to appear that the Scottish Presbyterians were determined to avail themselves of an opportunity for which the chiefs amongst them had long made preparations. The Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and Tarras, with several other persons of consideration, encouraged the rising of the Presbyterians, who, hastily assuming arms, appeared in different parts of the country, in open opposition to the Government.

These desultory forces might have been put down by the militia; but a manœuvre of the Earl of Athole, whose connexion with the Earl of Derby had procured him admission into the secrets of the Revolution, prevented the adherents of King James from having this support. Lord Tarbat concurred in the sentiments of Athole, and both being members of the Privy Council, had an opportunity of carrying their purpose into execution. When the news reached Scotland, that the army of King James was disbanded, and the King had

fled, these two noblemen persuaded the Chancellor, Perth, and other Catholics or zealous Jacobites in the Privy Council, that, as there was now no chance of coming to a decision by force of arms, it was their duty to disband the militia, as their services could not be needed, and their maintenance was a burden to the country.

The Earl of Perth, who appears to have been a timorous man, and of limited understanding, was persuaded to acquiesce in this measure; and no sooner had he parted with the militia, his last armed defence, than his colleagues made him understand that he being a Papist, incapacitated by law from holding any public office, they did not think themselves in safety to sit and vote with him as a member of government. And, while the Protestant part of his late obsequious brethren seemed to shun him as one infected with the plague, the rabble beat drums in the streets, proclaimed him traitor, and set a price upon his head. The late Chancellor's courage could not withstand the menace, and he escaped from the metropolis, with the purpose of flying beyond seas. But being pursued by armed barks, he was taken, and detained a prisoner for more than four years.

In the mean time, an act of violence of a decided character took place in Edinburgh. Holyrood House, the ancient palace of James's ancestors, and his own habitation when in Scotland, had been repaired with becoming splendour, when he came to the throne. But it was within its precincts that he had established his royal chapel for the Catholic

service, as well as a seminary of Jesuits, an institution which, under pretext of teaching the Latin language, and other branches of education gratis, was undoubtedly designed to carry on the work of making proselytes. At Holyrood House a printing establishment was also erected, from which were issued polemical tracts in defence of the Catholic religion, and similar productions. The palace and its inmates were on all these accounts very obnoxious to the Presbyterian party, which now began to obtain the ascendency.

The same bands, consisting of the meaner class of people, apprentices, and others, whose appearance had frightened the Chancellor out of the city, continued to parade the streets with drums beating, until, confident in their numbers, they took the resolution of making an attack on the palace, which was garrisoned by a company of regular soldiers, commanded by one Captain Wallace.

As the multitude pressed on this officer's sentinels, he at length commanded his men to fire, and some of the insurgents were killed. A general cry was raised through the city, that Wallace and his soldiers were committing a massacre of the inhabitants; and many of the citizens, repairing to the Earl of Athole and his colleagues, the only part of the Privy Council which remained, obtained a warrant from them for the surrender of the palace, and an order for the King's heralds to attend in their official habits to intimate the same. The city guard of Edinburgh was also commanded to be in readiness to enforce the order; the trained

bands were got under arms, and the provost and magistrates, with a number of persons of condition, went to show their good-will to the cause. Some of these volunteers acted a little out of character. Lord Mersington, one of the Judges of the Court of Session, lately promoted to that office by James II., at the time when he was distributing his favours equally betwixt Papist and Puritan, attracted some attention from his peculiar appearance; he was girt with a buff belt above five inches broad, bore a halbert in his hand, and (if a Jacobite eyewitness speaks truth) was "as drunk as ale and brandy could make him."

On the approach of this motley army of besiegers, Wallace, instead of manning the battlements and towers of the palace, drew up his men imprudently in the open court-yard in front of it. He refused to yield up his post, contending, that the warrant of the Privy Council was only signed by a small number of that body. Defiance was exchanged on both sides, and firing commenced; on which most of the volunteers got into places of safety, leaving Captain Wallace and the major of the city guard to dispute the matter professionally. It chanced that the latter proved the better soldier, and finding a back way into the palace, attacked Wallace in the rear. The defenders were at the same time charged in front by the other assailants, and the palace was taken by storm. The rabble behaved themselves as riotously as might have been expected, breaking, burning, and destroying, not only the articles which belonged to the Catholic

service, but the whole furniture of the chapel; and, finally, forcing their way into the royal sepulchres, and pulling about the bodies of the deceased princes and kings of Scotland. These monuments, to the great scandal of the British Government, were not closed until ten or twelve years since, before which time, the exhibition of the wretched relics of mortality which had been dragged to light on this occasion, was a part of the show offered for the amusement of strangers who visited the palace.

This riot, which ascertained the complete superiority of the Presbyterian party, took place on the 10th December, 1688. The houses of various Catholics, who then resided chiefly in the Canongate, were mobbed, or rabbled, as was then the phrase, their persons insulted, and their property destroyed. But the populace contented themselves with burning and destroying whatever they considered as belonging to Papists and Popery, without taking any thing for their own use.

This zeal for the Protestant cause was maintained by false rumours that an army of Irish Catholics had landed in the west, and were burning, spoiling, and slaying. It was even said they had reached Dumfries. A similar report had produced a great effect on the minds of the English during the Prince of Orange's advance to the capital. In Scotland it was a general signal for the Presbyterians to get to arms; and, being thus assembled, they, and particularly the Cameronians, found active occupation in expelling from the churches

the clergy of the Episcopal persuasion. To proceed in this work with some appearance of form, they, in most cases, previously intimated to the Episcopal curates that they must either leave their churches voluntarily, or be forcibly ejected from them.

Now, since these armed nonconformists had been, to use their own language, for nearly twenty years "proscribed, forfeited, miserably oppressed, given up as sheep to the slaughter, intercommuned, and interdicted of harbour or supply, comfort or communion, hunted and slain in the fields, in cities imprisoned, tortured, executed to the death, or banished and sold as slaves;" and, as many of them avowed the same wild principles which were acted upon by the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe, it might have been expected that a bloody retaliation would take place as soon as they had the power in their own hands. Yet it must be owned that these stern Cameronians showed no degree of positive cruelty. They expelled the obnoxious curates with marks of riotous triumph, tore their gowns, and compelled them sometimes to march in a mock procession to the boundary of their parish; they plundered the private chapels of Catholics, and destroyed whatever they found belonging to their religion; but they evinced no desire of personal vengeance; nor have I found that the clergy who were expelled in this memorable month of December, 1688, although most of them were treated with rudeness and insult, were, in any case, killed or wounded in cold blood.

These tumults would have extended to Edinburgh; but the College of Justice, under which title all the different law bodies of the capital are comprehended, assumed arms for maintaining the public peace, and resisting an expected invasion of the city by the Cameronians, who threatened, in this hour of triumph, a descent on the metropolis, and a second Whigamores' Raid. This species of civic guard effectually checked their advance, until, not being supposed favourable to the Prince of Orange, it was disbanded by proclamation when he assumed the management of public affairs.

Scotland may be said to have been, for some time, without a government; and, indeed, now that all prospect of war seemed at an end, men of all parties posted up to London, as the place where the fate of the kingdom must be finally settled. The Prince of Orange recommended the same measure which had been found efficient in England; and a Convention of the Scottish Estates was summoned to meet in March, 1689. The interval was spent by both parties in preparing for a contest.

The Episcopal party continued devoted to the late King. They possessed a superiority among the nobility, providing the bishops should be permitted to retain their seats in the Convention. But among the members for counties, and especially the representatives of burghs, the great majority was on the side of the Whigs, or Williamites, as the friends of the Prince of Orange began to be called.

If actual force were to be resorted to, the Jacobites relied on the faith of the Duke of Gordon, who was governor of the castle of Edinburgh, on the attachment of the Highland clans, and the feudal influence of the nobles and gentry of the north. The Whigs might reckon on the full force of the five western shires, besides a large proportion of the south of Scotland. The same party had on their side the talents and abilities of Dalrymple, Fletcher, and other men of strong political genius, far superior to any that was possessed by the Tories. But if the parties should come to an open rupture, the Whigs had no soldier of reputation to oppose to the formidable talents of Dundee.

The exiled King having directed his adherents to attend the Convention, and, if possible, secure a majority there, Dundee appeared on the occasion with a train of sixty horse, who had most of them served under him on former occasions. The principal Whigs, on their part, secretly brought into town the armed Cameronians, whom they concealed in garrets and cellars till the moment should come for their being summoned to appear in arms. These preparations for violence show how inferior in civil polity Scotland must have been to England, since it seemed that the great national measures which were debated with calmness, and adopted with deliberation in the Convention of England, were, in that of North Britain, to be decided, apparently, by an appeal to the sword.

Yet the Convention assembled peaceably, though under ominous circumstances. The town was filled

with two factions of armed men, lately distinguished as the persecuting and the oppressed parties, and burning with hatred against each other. The guns of the castle, from the lofty rock on which it is situated, lay loaded and prepared to pour their thunders on the city; and under these alarming circumstances, the peers and commons of Scotland were to consider and decide upon the fate of her crown. Each party had the deepest motives for exertion.

The Cavaliers, or Jacobites, chiefly belonging by birth to the aristocracy, forgot James's errors in his misfortunes, or indulgently ascribed them to a few bigoted priests and selfish counsellors, by whom, they were compelled to admit, the royal ear had been too exclusively possessed. They saw, in their now aged monarch, the son of the venerated martyr, Charles I., whose memory was so dear to them, and the descendant of the hundred princes who had occupied the Scottish throne, according to popular belief, for a thousand years, and under whom their ancestors had acquired their fortunes, their titles, and their fame. James himself, whatever were the political errors of his reign, had been able to attach to himself individually, many both of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who regretted him as a friend as well as a sovereign, and recollected the familiarity with which he could temper his stately courtesy, and the favours which many had personally received from him. The compassion due to fallen majesty was in this case enhanced, when it was considered that

James was to be uncrowned, in order that the Prince and Princess of Orange, his son-in-law and daughter, might be raised to the throne in his stead, a measure too contrary to the ordinary feelings of nature not to create some disgust. Besides, the Cavaliers generally were attached to the Episcopal form of worship, and to the constitution of a church, which, while it supported with credit the dignity of the sacred order, affected not the rigorous discipline and vexatious interference in the affairs of private families, for which they censured the Presbyterians. Above all, the Jacobites felt that they themselves must sink in power and influence with the dethronement of King James, and must remain a humbled and inferior party in the kingdom which they lately governed, hated for what had passed, and suspected in regard to the future.

The Whigs, with warmer hopes of success, had even more urgent motives for political union and exertion. They reckoned up the melancholy roll of James's crimes and errors, and ridiculed the idea, that he who had already suffered so much both in his youth and middle age, would ever become wiser by misfortune. Bigotry and an extravagant and inveterate love of power, they alleged, were propensities which increased with age; and his religion, they contended, while it would readily permit him to enter into any engagements which an emergency might require, would with equal ease dispense with his keeping them, and even impute it as a merit that he observed no faith with heretics. The present crisis, they justly argued,

afforded a happy occasion to put an end to that course of open encroachment upon their liberty and property, of which the Scottish nation had so long had to complain; and it would be worse than folly to sacrifice the rights and liberties of the people to the veneration attached to an ancient line of princes, when their representative had forgotten the tenure by which he held the throne of his fathers. The form of the Presbyterian Church, while it possessed a vital power over the hearts and consciences of the worshippers, was also of a character peculiarly favourable to freedom, and suitable to a poor country like that of Scotland, which was unable to maintain bishops and dignitaries with becoming splendour. A great part of the nation had shown themselves attached to it, and disposed to submit to the greatest hardships, and to death itself, rather than conform to the Episcopal mode of worship; and it was fitting they should have permission to worship God in the way their consciences recommended. The character of William afforded the most brilliant arguments to his partisans in the Convention. He had been from his youth upward distinguished as the champion of public freedom, his zeal for which exceeded even his ambition. He was qualified by the doctrines of toleration, which he had deeply imbibed, to cure the wounds of nations distracted by civil faction, and his regard for truth and honour withstood every temptation to extend his power, which the unsettled circumstances of the British kingdoms might present to an ambitious prince.

Distracted by these various considerations, the Scottish Convention met. The first contest was for the nomination of a president, in which it is remarkable that both the contending parties made choice of candidates, in whom neither could repose trust as faithful partisans. The Marquis of Athole was proposed by the Jacobites, to whose side he now inclined, after having been, as I have shown you, the principal actor in displacing James's Scottish administration, and chasing from Edinburgh that King's Chancellor, the Earl of Perth. The Whigs, on the other hand, equally at a loss to find an unexceptionable candidate, set up the Duke of Hamilton, although his future conduct was so undecided and dubious as to make them more than once repent of their choice.[1]

14th March.

The Duke of Hamilton attained the presidency by a majority of fifteen, which, though not a very predominating one, was sufficient to ascertain the superiority of the Whigs, who, as usual in such cases, were immediately joined by all those whom timidity or selfish considerations had kept aloof,

[1] [Lord William Douglas married the Duchess Anne daughter of James, first Duke of Hamilton, and after the restoration, on her petition, was created (third) Duke of Hamilton for life.—Wood's Peerage, vol. i., p. 707.—"A boisterous yet temporizing statesman, who had maintained an open, or, more frequently, a secret opposition during the preceding reign; and according to the policy ascribed to the Scottish nobility, his son, Lord Arran, accompanied James in his barge to Rochester, while the father attended the Prince of Orange at St James's."—Laing, vol. ii., p. 182.—"He appeared to be of no party, when he was dealing in private with all parties."—Dalrymple.]

until they should discover which was the safest, and likely to be the winning side. The majorities of the Whigs increased therefore upon every question, while the Jacobite party saw no remedy but in some desperate and violent course. The readiest which occurred was to endeavour to induce the Duke of Gordon, governor of the castle, to fire upon the town, and to expel the Convention, in which their enemies were all-powerful. The Convention, on the other hand, by a great majority, summoned the Duke to surrender the place, under the pains of high treason.

The position of the Duke was difficult. The castle was strong, but it was imperfectly supplied with provisions; the garrison was insufficient, and many among them of doubtful fidelity; and as every other place of strength throughout the kingdom had been surrendered, to refuse compliance might be to draw upon himself the unmitigated vengeance of the prevailing party. The Duke was therefore uncertain how to decide, when the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale came to demand a surrender in the name of the Convention; and he at first offered to comply, on obtaining indemnity for himself and his friends. But the Viscount of Dundee, getting access to the castle while the treaty was in dependence, succeeded in inspiring the Duke with a share of his own resolution; so that when the commissioners desired to know the friends for whom he demanded immunity, he answered by delivering to them a list of all the clans in the Highlands; which being interpreted as done

in scorn, the two earls returned so indignant, that they scarce could find words to give an account of their errand to the Convention.

Soon after, the Duke of Gordon was solemnly summoned by two heralds, in their ceremonial habits, to surrender the castle; and they at the same time published a proclamation, prohibiting any one to converse with or assist him, should he continue contumacious. The Duke desired them to inform the Convention, that he held his command by warrant from their common master; and, giving them some money to drink King James's health, he observed, that when they came to declare loyal subjects traitors, with the King's coats on their backs, they ought in decency to turn them.

But though Dundee had been able to persuade the Duke to stand a siege in the castle, he could not prevail upon him to fire on the town; an odious severity, which would certainly have brought general hatred upon him, without, perhaps, having the desired effect of dislodging the Convention. This scheme having failed, the Jacobites resolved upon another, which was to break up with all their party, and hold another and rival Convention at Stirling. For this purpose it was proposed that the Earl of Mar, hereditary keeper of Stirling Castle, should join them, in order that they might have the protection of the fortress, and that Athole should assist them with a body of his Highlanders. These noblemen entered into the plan; but when it came to the point of execution, the courage of

both seems to have given way, and the design was postponed.

Whilst affairs were in this state, Dundee, provoked alike at the vacillation of his friends, and the triumph of his enemies, resolved no longer to remain inactive. He suddenly appeared before the Convention, and complained of a plot laid to assassinate himself and Sir George MacKenzie, the late King's advocate,—a charge which was very probable, since the town was now filled with armed Cameronians, who had smarted so severely under the judicial prosecutions of the lawyer, and the military violence of the soldier. Dundee demanded that all strangers should be removed from the town; and when it was answered that this could not be done without placing the Convention at the mercy of the Popish Duke of Gordon and his garrison, he left the assembly in indignation, and returning to his lodgings, instantly took arms and mounted his horse, attended by fifty or sixty armed followers.[1] The city was alarmed at the appearance of

[1] ["Dundee," says Sir John Dalrymple, "flew to the Convention, and demanded justice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wished to get rid of a troublesome adversary, treated his complaint with neglect; and, in order to sting him in the tenderest part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the house in a rage, mounted his horse, and with a troop of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, where he was going? he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'"—*Memoirs*, 4to ed. v. i. p. 287.—See SIR WALTER SCOTT'S *Poetical Works*, v. xii. pp. 194–7.]

this unexpected cavalcade, so formidable from the active and resolute character of its leader; and the Convention, feeling or pretending personal alarm, ordered the gates of their hall to be locked, and the keys to be laid upon the table. In the mean time, the drums beat to arms, and the bands of westland-men, who had been hitherto concealed in garrets and similar lurking-holes, appeared in the streets with their arms prepared, and exhibiting, in their gestures, language, and looks, the stern hopes of the revenge which they had long panted for.

While these things were passing, Dundee, in full view of friends and enemies, rode at leisure out of the city, by the lane called Leith Wynd, and proceeded along the northern bank of the North Loch, upon which the New Town of Edinburgh is now situated. From thence, turning under the western side of the castle, he summoned the Duke of Gordon to a conference at the foot of the walls, and for that purpose scrambled up the precipitous bank and rock on which the fortress is situated. So far as is known respecting this singular interview, Dundee's advice to the Duke was, to maintain the castle at all risks, promising him speedy relief.

The people of Edinburgh, who witnessed from a distance this extraordinary conference, concluded that the castle was about to fire upon the city, and the spectators of Dundee's exploit were mistaken for his adherents: while the Jacobite members of the Convention on their part, unarmed and enclosed among their political enemies, were afraid of

being massacred by the armed Whigs. The Convention, when their alarm subsided, sent Major Bunting with a party of horse to pursue Dundee and make him prisoner. That officer soon overtook the Viscount, and announced his commission; to which Dundee only deigned to answer, that if he dared attempt to execute such a purpose, he would send him back to the Convention in a pair of blankets. Bunting took the hint, and suffering the dreaded commander and his party to pass unmolested, returned in peace to the city. Dundee marched towards Stirling, and in consequence of his departure, the other friends of King James left Edinburgh, and hastened to their own homes.

So soon as this extraordinary scene had passed over, the Convention, now relieved from the presence of the Jacobite members, resolved upon levying troops to defend themselves, and to reduce the castle. The Cameronians were the readiest force of whose principles they could be assured, and it was proposed to them to raise a regiment of two battalions, under the Earl of Angus, eldest son of the Marquis of Douglas, a nobleman of military talents, as colonel, and William Cleland, as lieutenant-colonel. This last had been one of the commanders at Drumclog, and, besides being a brave gentleman, was a poet, though an indifferent one, and more a man of the world than most of the sect to which he belonged.

Some of the more rigid Covenanters were of opinion, that those who possessed their principles had no freedom (to use their own phraseology) to

join together for the defence of a Convention, in which so many persons were in the possession both of places and power, who had been deeply engaged in the violent measures of the last reign; and they doubted this the more, as no steps had been taken to resume the obligations of the Covenant. But the singular and most unexpected train of events, which had occasioned their being called to arms to defend a city, where they had never before been seen openly save when dragged to execution, seemed so directly the operation of Providence in their favour, that, giving way for once to the dictates of common sense, the Cameronians agreed to consider the military association now proposed as a necessary and prudential measure, protesting only that the intended regiment should not be employed either under or along with such officers as had given proofs of attachment to Popery, Prelacy, or Malignancy. They also stipulated for regular opportunities of public worship, and for strict punishment of unchristian conversation, swearing, and profligacy of every sort; and their discipline having been arranged as much to their mind as possible, eighteen hundred men were raised, and, immediately marching to Edinburgh, assumed the duty of defending the Convention, and blockading the garrison in the castle.

The Cameronians were soon, however, relieved by troops more competent to such a task, being a part of the regular army sent down to Scotland by King William, in order to give his party the decided superiority in that kingdom. Batteries were

raised against the castle, and trenches opened. The Duke of Gordon made an honourable defence, while, at the same time, he avoided doing any damage to the town, and confined his fire to returning that of the batteries, by which he was annoyed. But the smallness of his garrison, the scarcity of provisions, the want of surgical assistance and medicines for the wounded, above all, the frequency of desertion, induced the Duke finally to surrender upon honourable terms; and in June he evacuated the fortress.

The Convention, in the mean time, almost entirely freed from opposition within their own assembly, proceeded to determine the great national question arising out of the change of government. Two letters being presented to them, one from King James, the other on the part of the Prince of Orange, they opened and read the latter with much reverence, while they passed over with little notice that of his father-in-law, intimating by this that they no longer regarded him as a sovereign.

This was made still more manifest by their vote respecting the state of the nation, which was much more decisive than that of the English Convention. The Scots Whigs had no Tories to consult with and satisfy by a scrupulous choice of expressions, and of course gave themselves no trouble in choosing between the terms abdication or forfeiture. They openly declared that James had assumed the throne without taking the oaths appointed by law; that he had proceeded to innovate upon the constitution of the kingdom, with the purpose of converting a

limited monarchy into one of despotic authority; they added, that he had employed the power thus illegally assumed, for violating the laws and liberties, and altering the religion of Scotland; and in doing so, had FORFEITED his right to the Crown, and the throne had thereby become vacant.

The forfeiture, in strict law, would have extended to all James's immediate issue, as in the case of treason in a subject; but as this would have injured the right of the Princess of Orange, the effects of the declaration were limited to King James's infant son, and to his future children. In imitation of England, the crown of Scotland was settled upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the survivor of them, after whose decease, and failing heirs of their body, the Princess Anne and her heirs were called to the succession.[1]

11th April, 1689.

[1] ["The new Sovereigns were crowned in London, and proclaimed in Scotland on the same day. Argyle, Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, were deputed from the three temporal estates to present the Crown, and administer the oath to the King and Queen. The instrument of Government and the grievances were first read, to which an address to turn the Convention into a Parliament was subjoined. When the Coronation oath was administered to William, at the obligation to root out heretics, he paused, and declared that he did not mean to become a persecutor; and on the assurance of the Commissioners that such was not its import, protested that in that sense only he received the oath. The insidious toleration attempted by James had excited universal disgust; but the unaffected scruples of William were honoured and approved.

"Thus the hereditary reign of the Stewarts in the male line, was concluded eighty-six years after their departure from Scotland. Their accession to the English Crown was the era of their

When the crown was thus settled, the Convention entered into a long declaration, called the Claim of Rights, by which the dispensing powers were pronounced illegal; the various modes of oppression practised during the last two reigns were censured as offences against liberty, and Prelacy was pronounced an insupportable grievance.

These resolutions being approved of by the new sovereigns, they began to assume the regal power, and fixed an administration. The Duke of Hamilton was named High Commissioner, in reward of his services as President of the Convention; Lord Melville was made Secretary of State, and the Earl of Crawford President of the Council. Some offices were put into commission, to serve as objects of ambition to those great men who were yet unprovided for; others were filled up by such as had given proofs of attachment to the Revolution. In general, the choice of the Ministry was approved of; but the King and his advisers were censured for bestowing too much confidence on Dalrymple, lately created Viscount Stair, and Sir John Dalrymple, his son, called Master of Stair. A vacancy occurred for the promotion of the Earl of Stair in a singular manner.

grandeur; an event that contributed neither to their felicity, nor perhaps to the improvement of their native hereditary kingdom. The contracted abilities of James VI. were better adapted to the Government of a small state, than of divided kingdoms; but the prospect of his elevation to the throne of England inspired a weak mind with ideas of absolute power unknown to his ancestors, to which we must primarily attribute the execution of his son, the expulsion of his grandson, and the exclusion of his male posterity for ever from the crown."—LAING, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.]

Sir George Lockhart, an excellent lawyer, who had been crown counsel in Cromwell's time, was, at the period of the Revolution, President of the Court of Session, or first judge in civil affairs. He had agreed to act as an arbiter in some disputes which occurred between a gentleman named Chiesley, of Dalry, and his wife. The President, in deciding this matter, had assigned a larger provision to Mrs Chiesley than, in her husband's opinion, was just or necessary; at which Dalry, a man headlong in his passions, was desperately offended, and publicly threatened the President's life. He was cautioned by a friend to forbear such imprudent language, and to dread the just vengeance of Heaven. "I have much to reckon for with Heaven," said the desperate man, "and we will reckon for this amongst the rest." In pursuance of his dreadful threat, Chiesley, armed for the purpose of assassination, followed his victim to the Greyfriar's church, in which Sir George usually heard divine service; but feeling some reluctance to do the deed within the sacred walls, he dogged him home, till he turned into the entry to his own house, in what is still called the President's Close. Here Chiesley shot the Judge dead; and disdaining to save his life by flight, he calmly walked about in the neighbourhood of the place till he was apprehended. He was afterwards tried and executed.[1]

[1] ["*The Lord Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh* sentenced the prisoner to be carried on a hurdle from the tolbooth to the market cross, on Wednesday, 3d April (1689); and there, be-

The office of the murdered President (a most important one, being the head of the supreme civil court) was conferred upon Lord Stair, and that of King's Advocate, equivalent to the situation of Attorney General in England, was given to his son, Sir John Dalrymple, who was afterwards associated with Lord Melville in the still more important situation of Secretary of State. Both father and son were men of high talent, but of doubtful integrity, and odious to the Presbyterians for compliances with the late government.

Besides his immediate and official counsellors, King William gave, in private, much of his confidence to a clergyman named Carstairs, who was one of his chaplains. This gentleman had given strong proof of his fidelity and fortitude; for, being arrested in Charles II.'s time, on account of his connexion with the conspiracy called Jerviswood's Plot, he underwent the cruel torture of the thumbikins, which, as I before told you, were screws, that almost crushed the thumbs to pieces. After the success of the Revolution, the Magistrates of Edinburgh complimented Carstairs, then a man of importance, with a present of the instrument of torture by which he had suffered. The King, it is said, heard of this, and desired to see

tween the hours of two and four afternoon, to have his right hand cut off alive, and then to be hanged, with the pistol about his neck with which he committed the murder. His body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh; his right hand fixed on the West-Port, and his moveable goods to be confiscated."—ARNOT's *Criminal Trials*, p. 154.]

the thumbikins. They were produced. He placed his thumbs in the engine, and desired Carstairs to turn the screw. "I should wish to judge of your fortitude," said the King, "by experiencing the pain which you endured." Carstairs obeyed, but turned the screws with a polite degree of attention not to injure the royal thumbs. "This is unpleasant," said the King, "yet it might be endured. But you are trifling with me. Turn the engine so that I may really feel a share of the pain inflicted on you." Carstairs, on this reiterated command, and jealous of his own reputation, turned the screws so sharply, that William cried for mercy, and owned he must have confessed any thing, true or false, rather than have endured the pain an instant longer. This gentleman became a particular confident of the King, and more trusted than many who filled high and ostensible situations in the state. He was generally allowed to be a man of sagacity and political talent, but his countrymen accused him of duplicity and dissimulation; and from that character he was generally distinguished by the nickname of Cardinal Carstairs.[1]

But while King William was thus considering the mode and selecting the council by which he proposed to govern Scotland, an insurrection took place, by means of which the sceptre of that king-

[1] [Mr Carstairs became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and died in 1715, much regretted on the score of his benevolence and charity to individuals of whatever sect. His Letters, State Papers, &c., with an account of his Life, appeared in a 4to volume in 1774.]

dom was wellnigh wrested from his gripe. This was brought about by the exertions of the Viscount Dundee, one of those extraordinary persons, by whose energies great national revolutions are sometimes wrought with the assistance of very small means.

CHAPTER LVI.

King James's Successes in Ireland—Preparations of the Viscount of Dundee for a Rising in favour of James in Scotland—Feud between MacDonald of Keppoch and MacIntosh of Moy—Advance of General MacKay to the North against Dundee—Movements of the two Armies—Battle of Killiecrankie, and Death of Dundee.

[1689.]

When the Viscount of Dundee retired, as I told you, from the city of Edinburgh, the Convention, in consequence of the intercourse which he had held, contrary to their order, with the Duke of Gordon, an intercommuned Catholic, sent him a summons to appear before them, and answer to an accusation to that effect. But Dundee excused himself on account of his lady's dangerous illness, and his own personal danger from the Cameronians.

In the mean time King James, with forces furnished him by the French King, had arrived in Ireland, and, welcomed by the numerous Catholics, had made himself master of that fine kingdom, excepting only the province of Ulster, where the Protestants of English and Scottish descent offered a gallant and desperate resistance. But in spite of such partial opposition as the north of Ireland

could make, James felt so confident, that, by his Secretary Melfort, he wrote letters to the Viscount Dundee, and to the Earl of Balcarras, Dundee's intimate friend, and a steady adherent of the exiled monarch, encouraging them to gather together his faithful subjects, and make a stand for his interest, and promising them the support of a considerable body of forces from Ireland, with a supply of arms and ammunition. So high were the hopes entertained by Lord Melfort, that, in letters addressed to some of his friends, he expressed, in the most imprudent manner, his purpose of improving to the uttermost the triumph which he did not doubt to obtain. "We dealt too leniently with our enemies," he said, "when we were in power, and possessed means of crushing them. But now, when they shall be once more conquered by us, and subjected once more to our authority, we will reduce them to hewers of wood and drawers of water."

These letters falling into the hands of the Convention, excited the utmost indignation. The Duke of Hamilton and others, who conceived themselves particularly aimed at, became more decided than ever to support King William's government, since they had no mercy to expect from King James and his vindictive counsellors. A military force was despatched to arrest Balcarras and Dundee. They succeeded in seizing the first of these noblemen; but Dundee being surrounded by a strong body-guard, and residing in a country where many of the gentlemen were Jacobites, the

party sent to arrest him were afraid to attempt the execution of their commission. He remained, therefore, at his own castle of Dudhope, near Dundee, where he had an opportunity of corresponding with the Highland chiefs, and with the northern gentlemen, who were generally disposed to Episcopacy, and favourable to the cause of King James.

Of the same name with the great Marquis of Montrose, boasting the same devoted loyalty, and a character as enterprising, with judgment superior to that of his illustrious prototype, Dundee is said to have replied to those who, on the day of his memorable retreat, asked him whither he went,—"That he was going wherever the spirit of Montrose should conduct him." His whole mind was now bent upon realizing this chivalrous boast.[1] His habits were naturally prudent and economical; but while others kept their wealth as far as possible out of the reach of the revolutionary storm, Dundee liberally expended for the cause of his old master the treasures which he had amassed in his service. His arguments, his largesses, the high influence of his character among the Highland chiefs, whose admiration of *Ian Dhu Cean*, or Black John the Warrior, was no way diminished by the merciless exploits which had procured him in the Low country the name of the Bloody Clavers, united with their own predilection in favour of

[1] ["Lord Dundee," says Sir John Dalrymple, "had for ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose, from whose family he was descended."—Vol. i. p. 283.]

James, and their habitual love of war, to dispose them to a general insurrection. Some of the clans, however, had, as usual, existing feuds amongst themselves, which Dundee was obliged to assist in composing, before he could unite them all in the cause of the dethroned monarch.

I will give you an account of one of those feuds, which, I believe, led to the last considerable clan-battle fought in the Highlands.

There had been, for a great many years, much debate, and some skirmishing, betwixt MacIntosh of Moy, the chief of that ancient surname, and a tribe of MacDonalds, called MacDonalds of Keppoch. The MacIntoshes had claims of an ancient date upon the district of glen Roy (now famous for the phenomenon called the parallel roads),[1] and the neighbouring valley of Glenspean. MacIntosh had his right to these lands expressed in written grants from the Crown, but Keppoch was in actual

[1] [Glen Roy, in Lochaber, Inverness-shire. "The glen of itself," says Pennant, "is extremely narrow, and the hills on each side very high, and generally not rocky. In the face of these hills, both sides of the glen, there are three roads at small distances from each other, and directly opposite on each side. These roads have been measured in the completest parts of them, and found to be 26 paces of a man, five feet ten inches high. The two highest are pretty near each other, about 50 yards, and the lowest double that distance from the nearest to it. They are carried along the sides of the glen with the utmost regularity (extending eight miles), nearly as exact as drawn with a rule and compass."—*Tour*, vol. iii. p. 394.—Various theories have been employed to account for this extraordinary formation, and perhaps the most probable is, that these three *roads* must have been the successive margins of a lake which had subsided under successive convulsions of nature.]

possession of the property. When asked upon what charters he founded his claim, MacDonald replied, that he held his lands, not by a sheep's skin, but by the sword; and his clan, an uncommonly bold and hardy race, were ready to support his boast. Several proposals having been in vain made to accommodate this matter, MacIntosh resolved to proceed to open force, and possess himself of the disputed territory. He therefore displayed the yellow banner, which was the badge of his family, raised his clan and marched towards Keppoch, being assisted by an independent company of soldiers, raised for the service of Government, and commanded by Captain MacKenzie of Suddie. It does not appear by what interest this formidable auxiliary force was procured, but probably by an order from the Privy Council.

On their arrival at Keppoch, MacIntosh found his rival's house deserted, and imagining himself in possession of victory, even without a combat, he employed many workmen, whom he had brought with him for that purpose, to construct a castle, or fort, on a precipitous bank overhanging the river Roy, where the vestiges of his operations are still to be seen. The work was speedily interrupted, by tidings that the MacDonalds of Keppoch, assisted by their kindred tribes of Glengarry and Glencoe, had assembled, and that they were lying on their arms, in great numbers, in a narrow glen behind the ridge of hills which rises to the north-east of Keppoch, the sloping declivity of which is called Mullroy. Their purpose was to attack

MacIntosh at daybreak; but that chief determined to anticipate their design, and assembling his clan, marched towards his enemy before the first peep of dawn. The rival clan, with their chief, Coll of Keppoch, were equally ready for the conflict; and, in the grey light of the morning, when the MacIntoshes had nearly surmounted the heights of Mullroy, the MacDonalds appeared in possession of the upper ridge, and a battle instantly commenced.

A lad who had lately run away from his master, a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, and had enlisted in Suddie's independent company, gives the following account of the action. "The MacDonalds came down the hill upon us, without either shoe, stocking, or bonnet on their heads; they gave a shout, and then the fire began on both sides, and continued a hot dispute for an hour (which made me wish I had been spinning tobacco). Then they broke in upon us with sword and target, and Lochaber-axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my captain severely wounded, and a great many men lying with heads cloven on every side, and having never witnessed the like before, I was sadly affrighted. At length a Highlandman attacked me with sword and target, and cut my wooden-handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun. I then clubbed my gun, and gave him a stroke with it, which made the but-end to fly off, and seeing the Highlandmen come fast down upon me, I took to my heels, and ran thirty miles before I looked behind me, taking every person whom I saw or met for my enemy."

Many, better used to such scenes, fled as far and fast as Donald MacBane, the tobacco-spinner's apprentice. The gentleman who bore MacIntosh's standard, being a special object of pursuit, saved himself and the sacred deposit by a wonderful exertion. At a place where the river Roy flows between two precipitous rocks, which approach each other over the torrent, he hazarded a desperate leap where no enemy dared follow him, and bore off his charge in safety.

It is said by tradition, that the MacIntoshes fought with much bravery, and that the contest was decided by the desperation of a half-crazed man, called "the red-haired Bo-man," or cowherd, whom Keppoch had not summoned to the fight, but who came thither, uncalled, with a club on his shoulder. This man, being wounded by a shot, was so much incensed with the pain, that he darted forward into the thickest of the MacIntoshes, calling out, "They fly, they fly! upon them, upon them!" The boldness he displayed, and the strokes he dealt with his unusual weapon, caused the first impression on the array of the enemies of his chief.

MacDonald was very unwilling to injure any of the government soldiers, yet Suddie, their commander, received his death wound. He was brave, and well armed with carabine, pistols, and a halbert or half-pike. This officer came in front of a cadet of Keppoch, called MacDonald of Tullich, and by a shot aimed at him, killed one of his brothers, and then rushed on with his pike. Notwith-

standing this deep provocation, Tullich, sensible of the pretext which the death of a captain under Government would give against his clan, called out more than once, "Avoid me—avoid me."—"The MacDonald was never born that I would shun," replied the MacKenzie, pressing on with his pike. On which Tullich hurled at his head a pistol, which he had before discharged. The blow took effect, the skull was fractured, and MacKenzie died shortly after, as his soldiers were carrying him to Inverness.

MacIntosh himself was taken by his rival, who, in his esteem, was only an insurgent vassal. When the captive heard the MacDonalds greeting their chieftain with shouts of "Lord of Keppoch! Lord of Keppoch!" he addressed him boldly, saying, "You are as far from being lord of the lands of Keppoch at this moment, as you have been all your life."—"Never mind," answered the victorious chieftain, with much good-humour, "we'll enjoy the good weather while it lasts." Accordingly, the victory of his tribe is still recorded in the pipe-tune, called, "MacDonald took the brae on them."

Some turn of fortune seemed about to take place immediately after the battle; for before the MacDonalds had collected their scattered forces, the war-pipes were again heard, and a fresh body of Highlanders appeared advancing towards Keppoch, in the direction of Garvamoor. This unexpected apparition was owing to one of those sudden changes of sentiment by which men in the earlier

stages of society are often influenced. The advancing party was the clan of Macpherson, members, like the MacIntoshes, of the confederacy called the Clan Chattan, but who, disputing with them the precedence in that body, were alternately their friends or enemies, as the recollection of former kindnesses, or ancient quarrels, prevailed. On this occasion the MacPhersons had not accompanied MacIntosh to the field, there being some discord betwixt the tribes at the time; but when they heard of MacIntosh's defeat, they could not reconcile it with their honour, to suffer so important a member of the Clan Chattan to remain captive with the MacDonalds. They advanced, therefore, in order of battle, and sent Keppoch a flag of truce, to demand that MacIntosh should be delivered to them.

The chief of Keppoch, though victorious, was in no condition for a fresh contest, and therefore surrendered his prisoner, who was much more mortified by finding himself in the hands of the MacPhersons, than rejoiced in escaping from those of his conqueror Keppoch. So predominant was his sense of humiliation, that when the MacPhersons proposed to conduct him to Cluny, the seat of their chief, he resisted at first in fair terms, and when the visit was urged upon him, he threatened to pierce his bosom with his own dirk, if they should persevere in compelling him to visit Cluny in his present situation. The MacPhersons were generous, and escorted him to his own estates.

The issue of the conflict at Mullroy, so mortifying to the conquered chief, was also followed with disastrous consequences to the victor.

The resistance offered to the royal troops, and the death of MacKenzie of Suddie, who commanded them, together with the defeat of MacIntosh, who had the forms at least of the law on his side, gave effect to his complaint to the Privy Council. Letters of fire and sword, as they were called, that is, a commission to burn and destroy the country and lands of an offending chieftain, or district, were issued against Coll MacDonald of Keppoch. Sixty dragoons, and two hundred of the foot guards, were detached into Glenroy and Glenspean, with orders to destroy man, woman, and child, and lay waste Keppoch's estates. Keppoch himself was for a time obliged to fly, but a wealthy kinsman purchased his peace by a large *erick*, or fine. We shall presently find him engaged in a conflict, where the destiny, not of two barren glens, but of a fair kingdom, seemed to depend upon the issue.

This brings us back to Dundee, who, in spring 1689, received intelligence that General MacKay, an officer intrusted by King William with the command of the forces in Scotland, was marching against him at the head of an army of regular troops. MacKay was a man of courage, sense, and experience, but rather entitled to the praise of a good officer than an able general, and better qualified to obey the orders of an intelligent commander, than penetrate into, encounter, and defeat, the schemes of such an active spirit as Dundee.

Of this there was an instance in the very beginning of the conflict, when Mackay advanced towards Dudhope castle, with the hope of coming upon his antagonist at unawares; but Dundee was not to be taken by surprise. Marching with a hundred and fifty horse to the town of Inverness, he found MacDonald of Keppoch at the head of several hundred Highlanders, blockading the place, on account of the citizens having taking part with MacIntosh against his clan. Dundee offered his mediation, and persuaded the magistrates to gratify Keppoch with the sum of two thousand dollars, for payment of which he granted his own bond in security. He manifested his influence over the minds of the mountain chiefs still more, by prevailing on Keppoch, though smarting under the injuries he had sustained, by the letters of fire and sword issued against him by King James's Government, to join him with his clan, for the purpose of restoring that monarch to the throne.

Thus reinforced, but still far inferior in numbers to his opponent MacKay, Dundee, by a rapid movement, surprised the town of Perth. He seized what public treasure he found in the hands of the receiver of taxes, saying that he would plunder no private person, but thought it was fair to take the King's money for the King's service. He dispersed, at the same time, two troops of horse, newly raised by Government, seized their horses and accoutrements, and made prisoners their commanding officers, the Lairds of Pollock and of Blair.

After this exploit, Dundee retreated into the

Highlands to recruit his little army, to wait for a body of three thousand men, whom he expected from Ireland, and to seek a suitable time for forwarding the explosion of a conspiracy, which had been formed in a regiment of dragoons now serving in MacKay's army, but which he had himself commanded before the Revolution. Both the officers and men of this regiment were willing to return to the command of their old leader, and the allegiance of their former King. Creichton, an officer in the regiment, the same whose attack on a conventicle I formerly told you of, was the chief conductor of this conspiracy. It was discovered by MacKay just when it was on the point of taking effect, and when the event, with such an enemy as Dundee in his vicinity, must have been destruction to his army. MacKay cautiously disguised his knowledge of the plot, until he was joined by strong reinforcements, which enabled him to seize upon the principal conspirators, and disarm and disband their inferior accomplices.

The Privy Council had a great inclination to make an example, which should discourage such practices in future; and Captain Creichton, being the chief agent, a stranger, and without friends or intercessors, was selected for the purpose of being hanged, as a warning to others. But Dundee did not desert his old comrade. He sent a message to the Lords of the Privy Council, saying, that if they hurt a hair of Creichton's head, he would in the way of reprisal cut his prisoners, the lairds of Pollock and Blair, joint from joint, and send them to Edin-

burgh, packed up in hampers. The Council were alarmed on receiving this intimation. The Duke of Hamilton reminded them, that they all knew Dundee so well that they could not doubt his being as good as his word, and that the gentlemen in his hands were too nearly allied to several of the Council to be endangered on account of Creichton. These remonstrances saved Creichton's life.

A good deal of marching, countermarching, and occasional skirmishing, ensued between Dundee and MacKay, during which an incident is said to have occurred strongly indicative of the character of the former. A young man had joined Dundee's army, the son of one of his old and intimate friends. He was employed upon some reconnoitring service, in which, a skirmish taking place, the new recruit's heart failed him, and he fairly fled out of the fray. Dundee covered his dishonour, by pretending that he himself had despatched him to the rear upon a message of importance. He then sent for the youth to speak with him in private. "Young man," he said, "I have saved your honour; but I must needs tell you, that you have chosen a trade for which you are constitutionally unfit. It is not perhaps your fault, but rather your misfortune, that you do not possess the strength of nerves necessary to encounter the dangers of battle. Return to your father—I will find an excuse for your doing so with honour—and I will besides put you in the way of doing King James's cause effectual service, without personally engaging in the war."

The young gentleman, penetrated with a sense

of the deepest shame, threw himself at his General's feet, and protested that his failure in duty was only the effect of a momentary weakness, the recollection of which should be effaced by his future conduct, and entreated Dundee, for the love he bore his father, to give him at least a chance of regaining his reputation. Dundee still endeavoured to dissuade him from remaining with the army, but as he continued urgent to be admitted to a second trial, he reluctantly gave way to his request. "But remember," he said, "that if your heart fails you a second time, you must die. The cause I am engaged in is a desperate one, and I can permit no man to serve under me who is not prepared to fight to the last. My own life, and those of all others who serve under me, are unsparingly devoted to the cause of King James; and death must be his lot who shows an example of cowardice."

The unfortunate young man embraced, with seeming eagerness, this stern proposal. But in the next skirmish in which he was engaged, his constitutional timidity again prevailed. He turned his horse to fly, when Dundee, coming up to him, only said, "The son of your father is too good a man to be consigned to the provost-marshal;" and without another word, he shot him through the head with his pistol, with a sternness and inflexibility of purpose, resembling the stoicism of the ancient Romans.

Circumstances began now to render Dundee desirous of trying the chance of battle, which he had hitherto avoided. The Marquis of Athole,

who had vacillated more than once during the progress of the Revolution, now abandoned entirely the cause of King James, and sent his son, Lord Murray, into Athole, to raise the clans of that country, Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergussons, and others, who were accustomed to follow the family of Athole in war, from respect to the Marquis's rank and power, though they were not his patriarchal subjects or clansmen. One of these gentlemen, Stewart of Boquhan, although dependent on the Marquis, was resolved not to obey him through his versatile changes of politics. Having been placed in possession of the strong castle of Blair, a fortress belonging to the Marquis, which commands the most important pass into the Northern Highlands, Stewart refused to surrender it to Lord Murray, and declared he held it for King James, by order of the Viscount of Dundee. Lord Murray, finding his father's own house thus defended against him, sent the tidings to General MacKay, who assembled about three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, and advanced with all haste into Athole, determined to besiege Blair, and to fight Dundee, should he march to its relief.

At this critical period, Lord Murray had assembled about eight hundred Athole Highlanders, of the clans already named, who were brought together under pretence of preserving the peace of the country. Many of them, however, began to suspect the purpose of Lord Murray to join MacKay; and recollecting that it was under Montrose's command, and in the cause of the Stewarts, that their

fathers had gained their fame, they resolved they would not be diverted from the same course of loyalty, as they esteemed it. They, therefore, let Lord Murray know, that if it was his intention to join Dundee, they would all follow him to the death; but if he proposed to embrace the side of King William, they would presently leave him. Lord Murray answered with threats of that vengeance which a feudal lord could take upon disobedient vassals, when his men, setting his threats at defiance, ran to the river, and filling their bonnets with water, drank King James's health, and left the standard of the Marquis to a man—a singular defection among the Highlanders of that period, who usually followed to the field their immediate superior, with much indifference concerning the side of politics which he was pleased to embrace.

These tidings came to Dundee, with the information that MacKay had reached Dunkeld, with the purpose of reducing Blair, and punishing the Athole gentlemen for their desertion of the standard of their chief. About the same time, General Cannon joined the Viscount, with the reinforcement so long expected from Ireland; but they amounted to only three hundred men, instead of as many thousands, and were totally destitute of money and provisions, both of which were to have been sent with them. Nevertheless, Dundee resolved to preserve the castle of Blair, so important as a key to the Northern Highlands, and marched to protect it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders,

with whom he occupied the upper and northern extremity of the pass between Dunkeld and Blair.

In this celebrated defile, called the Pass of Killiecrankie, the road runs for several miles along the banks of a furious river, called the Garrey, which rages below, amongst cataracts and waterfalls which the eye can scarcely discern, while a series of precipices and wooded mountains rise on the other hand; the road itself is the only mode of access through the glen, and along the valley which lies at its northern extremity. The path was then much more inaccessible than at the present day, as it ran close to the bed of the river, and was narrower and more rudely formed.

A defile of such difficulty was capable of being defended to the last extremity by a small number against a considerable army; and considering how well adapted his followers were for such mountain warfare, many of the Highland chiefs were of opinion, that Dundee ought to content himself with guarding the pass against MacKay's superior army, until a rendezvous, which they had appointed, should assemble a stronger force of their countrymen. But Dundee was of a different opinion, and resolved to suffer MacKay to march through the pass without opposition, and then to fight him in the open valley, at the northern extremity. He chose this bold measure, both because it promised a decisive result to the combat which his ardent temper desired; and also because he preferred fighting MacKay before that General was joined

by a considerable body of English horse who were expected, and of whom the Highlanders had at that time some dread.

On the 17th June, 1689, General MacKay with his troops entered the pass, which, to their astonishment, they found unoccupied by the enemy. His forces were partly English and Dutch regiments, who, with many of the Lowland Scots themselves, were struck with awe, and even fear, at finding themselves introduced by such a magnificent, and, at the same time, formidable avenue, to the presence of their enemies, the inhabitants of these tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they were penetrating. But besides the effect produced on their minds by the magnificence of natural scenery, to which they were wholly unaccustomed, the consideration must have hung heavy on them, that if a general of Dundee's talents suffered them to march unopposed through a pass so difficult, it must be because he was conscious of possessing strength sufficient to attack and destroy them at the further extremity, when their only retreat would lie through the narrow and perilous path by which they were now advancing.

Mid-day was past ere MacKay's men were extricated from the defile, when their general drew them up in one line three deep, without any reserve, along the southern extremity of the narrow valley into which the pass opens. A hill on the north side of the valley, covered with dwarf trees and bushes, formed the position of Dundee's army, which, divided into columns, formed by the differ-

ent clans, was greatly outflanked by MacKay's troops.

The armies shouted when they came in sight of each other; but the enthusiasm of MacKay's soldiers being damped by the circumstances we have observed, their military shout made but a dull and sullen sound compared to the yell of the Highlanders, which rung far and shrill from all the hills around them. Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, of whom I formerly gave you some anecdotes, called on those around him to attend to this circumstance, saying, that in all his battles he observed victory had ever been on the side of those whose shout before joining seemed most sprightly and confident. It was accounted a less favourable augury by some of the old Highlanders, that Dundee at this moment, to render his person less distinguishable, put on a sad-coloured buff-coat above the scarlet cassock and bright cuirass, in which he had hitherto appeared.

It was some time ere Dundee had completed his preparations for the assault which he meditated, and only a few dropping shots were exchanged, while, in order to prevent the risk of being outflanked, he increased the intervals between the columns with which he designed to charge, insomuch that he had scarce men enough left in the centre. About an hour before sunset, he sent word to Mackay that he was about to attack him, and gave the signal to charge.

The Highlanders stript themselves to their shirts and doublets, threw away every thing that could

impede the fury of their onset, and then put themselves in motion, accompanying with a dreadful yell the discordant sound of their war-pipes. As they advanced, the clansmen fired their pieces, each column thus pouring in a well-aimed though irregular volley, when, throwing down their fusees, without waiting to reload, they drew their swords, and, increasing their pace to the utmost speed, pierced through and broke the thin line which was opposed to them, and profited by their superior activity and the nature of their weapons to make a great havoc among the regular troops. When thus mingled with each other, hand to hand, the advantages of superior discipline on the part of the Lowland soldier were lost—Agility and strength were on the side of the mountaineers. Some accounts of the battle give a terrific account of the blows struck by the Highlanders, which cleft heads down to the breast, cut steel headpieces asunder as nightcaps, and slashed through pikes like willows. Two of MacKay's English regiments in the centre stood fast, the interval between the attacking columns being so great that none were placed opposite to them. The rest of King William's army were totally routed and driven headlong into the river.

Dundee himself, contrary to the advice of the Highland chiefs, was in front of the battle, and fatally conspicuous. By a desperate attack he possessed himself of MacKay's artillery, and then led his handful of cavalry, about fifty men, against two troops of horse, which fled without fighting. Observing the stand made by the two English regi-

ments already mentioned, he galloped towards the clan of MacDonald, and was in the act of bringing them to the charge, with his right arm elevated, as if pointing the way to victory, when he was struck by a bullet beneath the arm-pit, where he was unprotected by his cuirass.[1] He tried to ride on, but being unable to keep the saddle, fell mortally wounded, and died in the course of the night.

It was impossible for a victory to be more complete than that gained by the Highlanders at Killiecrankie. The cannon, baggage, and stores of MacKay's army, fell into their hands. The two regiments which kept their ground suffered so much in their attempt to retreat through the pass, now occupied by the Athole-men, in their rear, that they might be considered as destroyed. Two thousand of Mackay's army were killed or taken, and the General himself escaped with difficulty to Stirling, at the head of a few horse. The Highlanders, whose dense columns, as they came down to the attack, underwent three successive volleys from MacKay's line, had eight hundred men slain.

But all other losses were unimportant compared to that of Dundee, with whom were forfeited all the fruits of that bloody victory. MacKay, when he found himself free from pursuit, declared his

[1] ["Claverhouse's sword," says Sir Walter Scott in 1802, "a straight cut-and-thrust blade, is in the possession of Lord Woodhouselee, and the buff coat which he wore at the battle of Killiecrankie, having the fatal shot-hole under the arm-pit of it, is preserved in Pennycuick house, the seat of Sir George Clerk, Bart."—*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. p. 245.]

conviction that his opponent had fallen in the battle. And such was the opinion of Dundee's talents and courage, and the general sense of the peculiar crisis at which his death took place, that the common people of the low country cannot, even now, be persuaded that he died an ordinary death. They say, that a servant of his own, shocked at the severities which, if triumphant, his master was likely to accomplish against the Presbyterians, and giving way to the popular prejudice of his having a charm against the effect of lead balls, shot him, in the tumult of the battle, with a silver button taken from his livery coat. The Jacobites, and Episcopal party, on the other hand, lamented the deceased victor as the last of the Scots, the last of the Grahams, and the last of all that was great in his native country.[1]

[1] ["Ultime *Scotorum*, potuit quo sospite solo
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ,
Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives:
Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.
Tuque vale gentis priscæ fortissime Ductor,
Optime Scotorum atque ultime, Grame, vale."

PITCAIRN.

"O last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
New people fill the land, now they are gone;
New Gods the temples, and new Kings the throne:
Scotland and thou did in each other live,
Thou couldst not her, nor could she thee survive;
Farewell, that living didst support the state,
And couldst not fall, but by thy country's fate."

DRYDEN.

Compare the character of Dundee in the tale of Old Mortality *Waverley Novels*, vol. x. pp. 57, 58.]

CHAPTER LVII.

Cannon succeeds Dundee, and is defeated at Dunkeld—The Cameronian Regiment—Skirmish at Cromdale—Pacification of the Highlands, through the instrumentality of the Earl of Breadalbane—Company of Jacobite Officers in the French Service as Privates—Reduction of the Bass—Montgomery's Plot—Settlement of Church Affairs—The Assurance.

[1689—1690.]

The Viscount of Dundee was one of those gifted persons upon whose single fate that of nations is sometimes dependent. His own party believed, that, had he lived to improve the decisive victory which he had so bravely won, he would have soon recovered Scotland to King James's allegiance. It is certain, a great many of the nobility only waited a gleam of success to return to the Jacobite side; nor were the revolutionary party so united amongst themselves as to have offered a very firm resistance. The battle of Killiecrankie, duly improved, would, unquestionably, have delivered the whole of Scotland north of the Forth into the power of Dundee, and rendered even Stirling and Edinburgh insecure.[1] Such a flame kindled in Scotland,

[1] ["The express," says Dalrymple, "which was sent to Edinburgh from the field of battle with an account of the defeat, was

must have broken many of King William's measures, rendered it impossible for him to go to Ireland, where his presence was of the last necessity, and have been, to say the least, of the highest prejudice to his affairs.

But all the advantages of the victory were lost in the death of the conquering general. Cannon, who succeeded to the chief command on Dundee's decease, was a stranger to Highland manners, and quite inadequate to the management of such an army as that which chance placed under his command. It was in vain that the fame of the victory, and the love of plunder and of war, which made part of the Highland character, brought around him, from the remote recesses of that warlike country, a more numerous body of the mountaineers than Montrose had ever commanded. By the timidity and indecision of his opponent, MacKay gained time enough to collect, which he did with celerity, a body of troops sufficient to coop up the Jacobite general within his mountains, and to maintain an indecisive war of posts and skirmishes, which wearied out the patience of the quick-spirited Highlanders.

Cannon attempted only one piece of service

detained by an accident a day upon the road. When this circumstance was related to King William, he said, 'then Dundee must be dead, for otherwise he would have been at Edinburgh before the express.'"—Vol. i. p. 357. "William paid a high compliment to the memory of Dundee; when he was advised to send a great body of troops to Scotland, after the defeat of Killiecrankie, he said, 'it was needless, the war ended with Dundee's life.'"—*Ibid.* p. 358.]

worthy of mention, and in that he was foiled. In the extremity of the alarm which followed the defeat of Killiecrankie, the Earl of Angus's newly raised regiment of Cameronians had been despatched to the Highlands. They had advanced as far as Dunkeld, when Cannon for once showed some activity, and avoiding MacKay by a rapid and secret march, he at once surrounded, in the village and castle of Dunkeld, about twelve hundred of this regiment, with more than double their own forces. Their situation seemed so desperate, that a party of horse who were with them retired, and left the Cameronians to their fate.

21st August.

But the newly acquired discipline of these hardy enthusiasts prevented their experiencing the fate of their predecessors at Bothwell and Pentland. They were judiciously posted in the Marquis of Athole's house and neighbouring enclosures, as also in the churchyard and the old cathedral; and with the advantage of this position they beat off repeatedly the fierce attacks of the Highlanders, though very inferior in numbers. This success restored the spirits of the King's troops, and diminished considerably that of the Highlanders, who, according to their custom, began to disperse and return home.

The Cameronian regiment lost in this action their gallant Lieutenant-Colonel, Cleland, and many men. But they were victorious, and that was a sufficient consolation.

You may have some curiosity to know the future

fate of this singular regiment. The peculiar and narrow-minded ideas of the sect led many of them to entertain doubts of the lawfulness of the part they had taken. The Presbyterian worship had indeed been established as the national church since the Revolution, but it was far from having attained that despotic authority claimed for it by the Cameronians, and therefore, although, at the first landing of the Prince of Orange, they had felt it matter of duty to espouse his cause, yet they were utterly disgusted with the mode in which he had settled the state, and especially the Church of Scotland.

What they in their enthusiasm imputed to King William as matter of censure, ought in reality to be considered as most meritorious. That wise and prudent monarch saw the impossibility of bringing the country to a state of quiet settlement, if he kept alive the old feuds by which it had been recently divided, or if he permitted the oppressed Presbyterians to avenge themselves as they desired upon their former persecutors. He admitted all persons alike to serve the state, whatever had been their former principles and practice; and thus many were reconciled to his government, who, if they had felt themselves endangered in person and property, or even deprived of the hope of royal patronage and official situation, would have thrown a heavy weight into the Jacobite scale. William, upon these principles, employed several persons who had been active enforcers of King James's rigorous measures, and whom the Cameronians accounted God's enemies and their own, and deemed more deserving

of severe punishment and retaliation, than of encouragement and employment.

In church affairs, King William's measures were still less likely to be pleasing to these fierce enthusiasts than in those which concerned the state. He was contented that there should be in Scotland, as in Holland, a national church, and that the form should be Presbyterian, as the model most generally approved by his friends in that kingdom. But the King was decided in opinion that this church should have no power either over the persons or consciences of those who were of different communions, to whom he extended a general toleration, from which the Catholics alone were excluded, owing to the terror inspired by their late strides towards predominant superiority during the reign of James II. The wisest, the most prudent, and the most learned of the Presbyterian ministers, those chiefly who, having fled from Scotland and resided in the Netherlands, had been enlightened on this subject of toleration, were willingly disposed to accommodate themselves to the King's inclination, and rest satisfied with the share of authority which he was willing to concede to the national church.

But wise and moderate opinions had no effect on the more stubborn Presbyterians, who, irritated at the kirk's being curbed of her supreme power, and themselves checked in the course of their vengeance upon their oppressors, accounted the model of King William's ecclesiastical government an Erastian establishment, in which the dignity of

the church was rendered subordinate to that of the state. There were many divines, even within the pale of the church, whose opinions tended to this point, and who formed a powerful party in the General Assembly. But the Cameronians in particular, elated with the part, both in suffering and acting, which they had performed during the late times, considered the results of the Revolution as totally unworthy of the struggle which they had maintained. The ministers who were willing to acquiesce in a model of church government so mutilated in power and beauty as that conceded by King William, they termed a hive of lukewarm, indifferent shepherds, who had either deserted their flocks and fled, to save themselves during the rage of persecution, or who, remaining in Scotland had truckled to the enemy, and exercised their ministry in virtue of a niggardly indulgence from the tyrant, whilst they themselves endured want and misery, and the extremities of the sword and gallows, rather than renounce one iota of the doctrine held by the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland in the time of her highest power in 1640. They considered the General Assembly held under the authority of King William, as an association in which the black hand of defection was extended to the red hand of persecution, and where apostates and oppressors, leagued together, made common cause against pure Presbyterian government and discipline.

Feeling thus indisposed towards the existing

government, it followed as a matter of course, that the Cameronians, if they did not esteem themselves actually called upon to resist King William's authority, from which they were withheld by some glimmering of common sense,—which suggested, as the necessary consequence, the return of their old enemy James,—neither did they feel at liberty to own themselves his subjects, to take oaths of allegiance to his person and that of his queen, or to submit themselves, by any mark of homage, to a sovereign, who had not subscribed and sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Although, therefore, this extreme party differed among themselves, to what extent they should disclaim the King and the Government, yet the general sense of their united societies became more and more scrupulous, concerning the lawfulness of serving in the Earl of Angus's regiment; and while they continued to own these soldiers as brethren, and hold correspondence with them, we observe that they hint at the introduction of some of the errors of the time, even into this select regiment. Card-playing, dice, and other scandalous games, but in particular the celebration of King William's birth-day, by rejoicing and drinking of healths, greatly afflicted the spirit of the general meeting of the more rigorous of the party, who held such practices as an abomination. It is probable, therefore, that the regiment of Cameronians received from this time few recruits out of the bosom of the party whose name they bore.

They were afterwards sent to serve on the Continent, and behaved courageously at the bloody battle of Steinkirk, in 1692, where they lost many men, and amongst others their colonel, the Earl of Angus, who fell fighting bravely at their head. During these campaigns the regiment became gradually more indifferent to their religious duties. At last, we learn that their chaplain and they became heartily weary of each other, and that while the preacher upbraided his military flock with departing from the strictness of their religious professions, the others are said to have cursed him to his face, for having been instrumental in inducing them to enter into the service. In latter times this regiment, which is still called the 26th, or Cameronian regiment, seems to have differed very little in its composition from other marching regiments, excepting that it was chiefly recruited in Scotland, and that, in memory of the original principles of the sect out of which it was raised, each soldier was, and perhaps is still, obliged to show himself possessed of a Bible when his necessaries are inspected.

During the course of the winter 1689–90, King James made an effort to reanimate the war in the Highlands, which had almost died away, after the repulse of the Highlanders at Dunkeld. He sent over General Buchan, an officer of reputation, and who was supposed to understand the Highland character and Highland warfare. The clans again assembled with renewed hopes; but Buchan proved as incapable as Cannon had shown himself the year

before, of profiting by the ardour of the Highlanders.

With singular want of caution, the Jacobite general descended the Spey, as far as a level plain by the river-side called Cromdale, where he quartered his army, about eighteen hundred men, in the hamlets in the vicinity.[1] Sir Thomas Livingstone, an excellent old officer, who commanded on the part of King William, assembled a large force of cavalry, some infantry, and a body of the clan Grant, who had embraced William's interest. The general's guide on this night's march was Grant of Elchies, who conducted him from Forres, down the hill above castle Grant, and through the valley of Auchinarrow, to the side of the Spey, opposite to the haugh of Cromdale. Elchies then, with the advanced guard of Grant, forded the broad and rapid river. He next killed, with his own hand, two of the Highlanders, outposts or sentinels, and led his own party, with Sir Thomas Livingstone and his cavalry, through a thicket of beech-trees, and thus surprised Buchan and his army asleep in their quarters. They fought gallantly, notwithstanding, with their swords and targets, but were at length compelled to take to flight. The pursuit was not so destructive to the defeated party as it would have been to the soldiers of any other nation, if pursued by the cavalry of a successful enemy. Light of foot, and

1st May, 1690.

[1] [On the south side of the low valley of the Spey, near the old church of Cromdale, about three miles to the east of the position where Grantown now stands.]

well acquainted with their own mountains, the Highlanders escaped up the hills, and amongst the mists, with such an appearance of ease and agility, that a spectator observed, they looked more like men received into the clouds, than fugitives escaping from a victorious enemy.

But the skirmish of Cromdale, and the ruin of King James's affairs in Ireland, precluded all hopes on the part of the Jacobites, of bringing the war in the Highlands to a successful termination. A fort near Inverlochy, originally erected by Cromwell, was again repaired by Livingstone, received the name of Fort William, and was strongly garrisoned, to bridle the Camerons, MacDonalds, and other Jacobite clans. The chiefs saw they would be reduced to maintain a defensive war in their own fastnesses, and that against the whole regular force of Scotland. They became desirous, therefore, of submitting for the present, and reserving their efforts in behalf of the exiled family for some more favourable time. King William was equally desirous to see this smouldering fire, which the appearance of such a general as Montrose or Dundee might soon have blown into a destructive flame, totally extinguished. For this purpose, he had recourse to a measure, which, had it been duly executed, was one of deep policy.

The Earl of Breadalbane, a man of great power in the Highlands, and head of a numerous clan of the Campbells, was intrusted with a sum of money, which some authors call twenty, and some twelve thousand pounds, to be distributed among the

chieftains, on the condition of their submission to the existing Government, and keeping on foot, each chief in proportion to his means, a military force to act on behalf of Government, at home or abroad, as they should be called upon. This scheme, had it succeeded, would probably have rendered the Highland clans a resource, instead of a terror, to the Government of King William. Their love of war, and their want of money, would by degrees have weaned them from their attachment to the exiled King, which would gradually have been transferred to a Prince, who led them to battle, and paid them for following him.

But many of the chiefs were jealous of the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane in distributing the funds intrusted to his care. Part of this treasure the wily earl bestowed among the most leading men; when these were bought off, he intimidated those of less power into submission, by threatening them with military execution; and it has always been said, that he retained a very considerable portion of the gratuity in his own hands. The Highland chiefs complained to Government of Breadalbane's conduct, and, to prejudice the earl in the minds of the Ministry, they alleged that he had played a double part, and advised them only to submit to King William for the present, until an opportunity should occur of doing King James effectual service. They also charged Breadalbane with retaining, for his own purposes, a considerable part of the money deposited in his hands, to be distributed in the Highlands.

Government, it is said, attended to this information, so far as to demand, through the Secretary of State, a regular account of the manner in which the sum of money placed in his hands had been distributed. But Breadalbane, too powerful to be called in question, and too audacious to care for having incurred suspicion of what he judged Government dared not resent, is traditionally said to have answered the demand in the following cavalier manner:—"My dear Lord, The money you mention was given to purchase the peace of the Highlands. The money is spent—the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accompting among friends."

We shall find afterwards, that the selfish avarice, and resentment of this unprincipled noblemen, gave rise to one of the most bloody, treacherous, and cruel actions, which dishonour the seventeenth century. Of this we shall speak hereafter; at present it is enough to repeat, that Breadalbane bribed, soothed, or threatened into submission to the Government, all the chiefs who had hitherto embraced the interest of King James, and the Highland war might be considered as nearly, if not entirely ended. But the proposed measure of taking the clans into the pay of Government, calculated to attach them inalienably to the cause of King William, was totally disconcerted, and the Highlanders continued as much Jacobites at heart as before the pacification.

There remained, however, after the Highlands were thus partially settled, some necessity of providing for the numerous Lowland officers who had joined the standard of Dundee, and who afterwards

remained with his less able successors in command. These individuals were entitled to consideration and compassion. They amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty gentlemen, who sacrificing their fortune to their honour, preferred following their old master into exile, to changing his service for that of another. It was stipulated by the treaty that they should have two ships to carry them to France, where they were received with the same liberal hospitality which Louis XIV. showed in whatever concerned the affairs of King James, and where, accordingly, they received for some time pay and subsistence, in proportion to the rank which they had severally enjoyed in the exiled King's service.

But when the battle of La Hogue had commenced the train of misfortunes which France afterwards experienced, and put a period to all hopes of invading England, it could not be expected that Louis should continue the expense of supporting this body of Scottish officers, whom there was now so little prospect of providing for in their own country. They themselves being sensible of this, petitioned King James to permit them to reduce themselves to a company of private soldiers, with the dress, pay, and appointments of that rank, assuring his Majesty that they would esteem it a pleasure to continue in his service, even under the meanest circumstances, and the greatest hardships.

James reluctantly accepted of this generous offer, and, with tears in his eyes, reviewed this body of devoted loyalists, as, stript of the advantages of birth, fortune, and education, they prepared to take

upon them the duties of the lowest rank in their profession. The unhappy Prince gave every man his hand to kiss,—promised never to forget their loyalty, and wrote the name of each individual in his pocket-book, as a pledge, that when his own fortune permitted, he would not be unmindful of their fidelity.

Being in French pay, this company of gentlemen were of course engaged in the French service; and wherever they came, they gained respect by their propriety of behaviour, and sympathy from knowledge of their circumstances. But their allowance, being only threepence a-day, with a pound and a half of bread, was totally inadequate not only for procuring their accustomed comforts, but even for maintaining them in the most ordinary manner. For a time, they found a resource in the sale of watches, rings, and such superfluous trinkets as had any value. It was not unusual to see individuals among them laying aside some little token of remembrance, which had been the gift of parental affection, of love, or of friendship, and to hear them protest, that with this at least they would never part. But stern necessity brought all these relics to the market at last, and this little fund of support was entirely exhausted.

After its first formation this company served under Marshal Noailles, at the siege of Rosas, in Catalonia, and distinguished themselves by their courage on so many occasions, that their general called them his children; and, pointing out their determined courage to others, used to say, that the

real gentleman was ever the same, whether in necessity or in danger.

In a subsequent campaign in Alsace, they distinguished themselves by their voluntary attempt to storm a fortified island on the Rhine, defended by five hundred Germans. They advanced to the shore of that broad river under shelter of the night, waded into the stream, with their ammunition secured about their necks for fear of its being wetted, and linked arm-in-arm, according to the Highland fashion, advanced into the middle of the current. Here the water was up to their breasts, but as soon as it grew more shallow, they untied their cartouch-boxes, and marching ashore with their muskets shouldered, poured a deadly volley upon the Germans, who, seized with a panic, and endeavouring to escape, broke down their own bridges, and suffered a severe loss, leaving the island in possession of the brave assailants. When the French general heard of the success of what he had esteemed a desperate bravado, he signed himself with the cross in astonishment, and declared that it was the boldest action that ever had been performed, and that the whole honour of contrivance and execution belonged to the company of officers. The place was long called *L'Ile d'Ecossais*, the Scotsmen's Island, and perhaps yet retains the name.

In these and similar undertakings, many of this little band fell by the sword; but the fate of such was enviable compared with that of the far greater part who died under the influence of fatigue, privations, and contagious diseases, which fell with

deadly severity on men once accustomed to the decencies and accommodations of social life, and now reduced to rags, filth, and famine. When, at the peace of Ryswick, this little company was disbanded, there remained but sixteen men out of their original number; and only four of these ever again saw their native country, whose fame had been sustained and extended by their fidelity and courage.

At length the last faint embers of civil war died away throughout Scotland. The last place which held out for King James was the strong island and castle in the frith of Forth, called the Bass.[1] This singular rock rises perpendicularly out of the sea. The surface is pasture land, sloping to the brink of a tremendous precipice, which on all sides sinks sheer down into the stormy ocean. There is no anchorage ground on any point near the rock; and although it is possible, in the present state of the island, to go ashore (not without danger, however), and to ascend by a steep path to the table-land on the top of the crag, yet, at the time of the Revolution a strong castle defended the landing place, and the boats belonging to the garrison were lowered into the sea, or heaved up into the castle, by means of the engine called a crane. Access was thus difficult to friends, and impossible to enemies.

This sequestered and inaccessible spot, the natural shelter and abode of gannets, gulls, and sea-

[1] [See *Ante*, vol. vii., pp. 438–446.]

fowl of all descriptions, had been, as I have before noticed, converted into a state prison during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; and was often the melancholy abode of the nonconformists, who were prisoners to Government. When the Revolution took place, the Governor of the Bass held out from 1688 to 1690, when he surrendered the island and castle to King William. They were shortly after recovered for King James by some Jacobite officers, who, sent thither as prisoners, contrived to surprise and overpower the garrison, and again bade defiance to the new Government. They received supplies of provisions from their Jacobite friends on shore, and exercised, by means of their boats, a sort of privateering warfare on such merchant vessels as entered the frith. A squadron of English ships-of-war was sent to reduce the place, which, in their attempt to batter the castle, did so little damage, and received so much, that the siege was given up, or rather converted into a strict blockade. The punishment of death was denounced by the Scottish Government against all who should attempt to supply the island with provisions; and a gentleman named Trotter, having been convicted of such an attempt, was condemned to death, and a gallows erected opposite to the Bass, that the garrison might witness his fate. The execution was interrupted for the time by a cannon-shot from the island, to the great terror of the assistants, amongst whom the bullet lighted; but no advantage accrued to Trotter, who was put to death elsewhere. The inter-

course between the island and the shore was in this manner entirely cut off. Shortly afterwards the garrison became so weak for want of provisions, that they were unable to man the crane by which they launched out and got in their boats. They were thus obliged finally to surrender, but not till reduced to an allowance of two ounces of rusk to each man per day. They were admitted to honourable terms, with the testimony of having done their duty like brave men.

We must now return to the state of civil affairs in Scotland, which was far from being settled. The arrangements of King William had not included in his administration Sir James Montgomery and some other leading Presbyterians, who conceived their services entitled them to such distinction. This was bitterly resented; for Montgomery and his friends fell into an error very common to agents in great changes, who often conceive themselves to have been the authors of those events, in which they were only the subordinate and casual actors. Montgomery had conducted the debates concerning the forfeiture of the crown at the Revolution, and therefore believed himself adequate to the purpose of dethroning King William, who, he thought, owed his crown to him, and of replacing King James. This monarch, so lately deprived of his realm on account of his barefaced attempts to bring in Popery, was now supported by a party of Presbyterians, who proposed to render him the nursing father of that model of church govern-

ment, which he had so often endeavoured to stifle in the blood of its adherents. As extremes approach to each other, the most violent Jacobites began to hold intercourse with the most violent Presbyterians, and both parties voted together in Parliament, from hatred to the administration of King William. The alliance, however, was too unnatural to continue; and King William was only so far alarmed by its progress, as to hasten a redress of several of those grievances, which had been pointed out in the Declaration of Rights. He also deemed it prudent to concede something to the Presbyterians, disappointed as many of them were with the result of the Revolution in ecclesiastical matters.

I have told you already that King William had not hesitated to declare that the National Church of Scotland should be Presbyterian; but, with the love of toleration, which was a vital principle in the King's mind, he was desirous of permitting the Episcopalian incumbents, as well as the forms of worship, to remain in the churches of such parishes as preferred that communion. Moreover, he did not deem it equitable to take from such proprietors as were possessed of it, the right of patronage, that is, of presenting to the Presbytery a candidate for a vacant charge; when, unless found unfit for such a charge, upon his life and doctrine being enquired into by formal trial, the person thus presented was of course admitted to the office.

A great part of the Presbyterians were much

discontented at a privilege, which threw the right of electing a clergyman for the whole congregation into the hands of one man, whilst all the rest might be dissatisfied with his talents, or with his character. They argued also, that very many of these presentations being in the hands of gentry of the Episcopal persuasion, to continue the right of patronage, was to afford such patrons the means of introducing clergymen of their own tenets, and thus to maintain a perpetual schism in the bosom of the church. To this it was replied by the defenders of patronage, that as the stipends of the clergy were paid by the landholders, the nomination of the minister ought to be left in their hands; and that it had accordingly been the ancient law of Scotland, that the advowson, or title to bestow the church-living, was a right of private property. The tendency towards Episcopacy, continued these reasoners, might indeed balance, but could not overthrow, the supremacy of the Presbyterian establishment, since every clergyman who was in possession of a living, was bound to subscribe the Confession of Faith, as established by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and to acknowledge that the General Assembly was invested with the full government of the church. They further argued, that in practice it was best this law of patronage should remain unaltered. The Presbyterian church being already formed upon a model strictly republican, they contended, that to vest the right of nominating the established clergy in the

hearers, was to give additional features of democracy to a system, which was already sufficiently independent both of the crown and the aristocracy. They urged, that to permit the flocks the choice of their own shepherd, was to encourage the candidates for church preferment rather to render themselves popular by preaching to soothe the humours of the congregation, than to exercise the wholesome but unpleasing duties, of instructing their ignorance, and reproving their faults; and that thus assentation and flattery would be heard from the pulpit, the very place where they were most unbecoming, and were likely to be most mischevous.

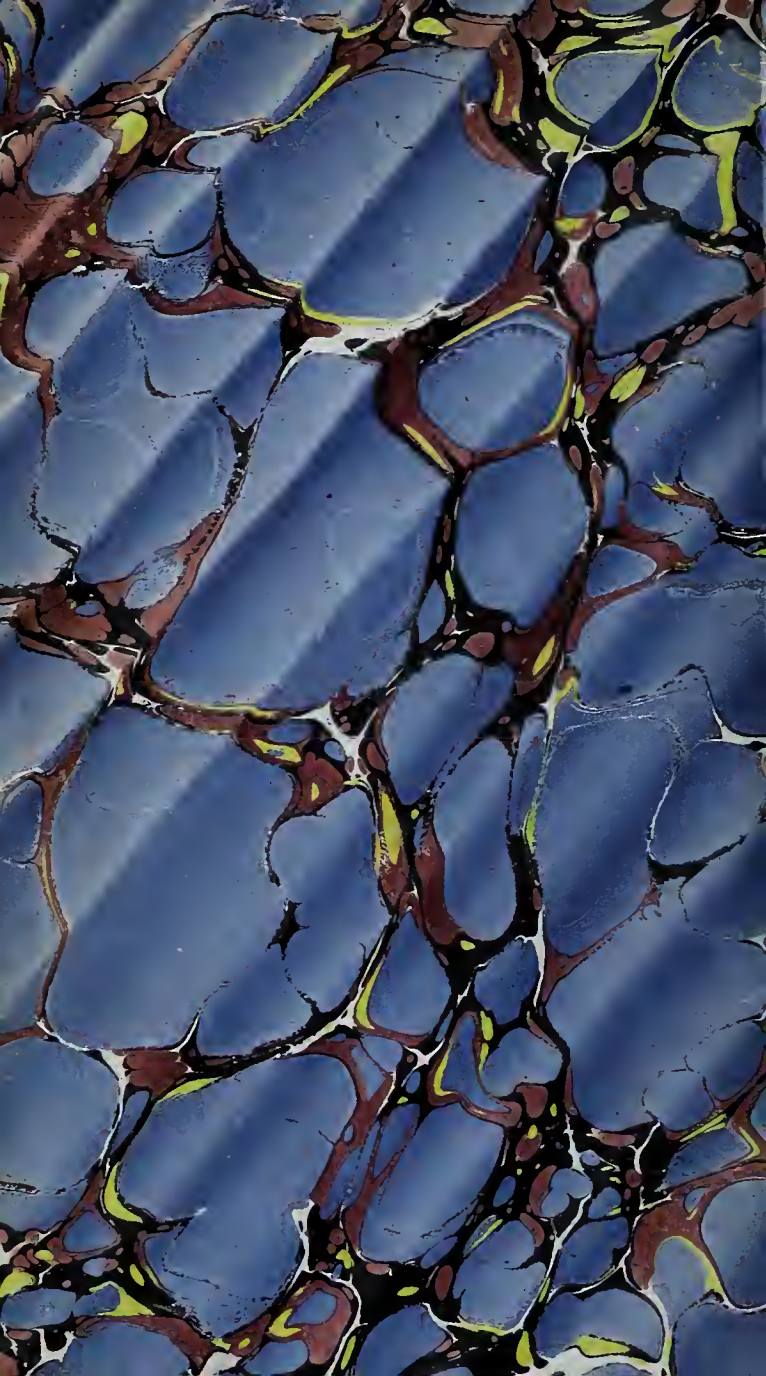
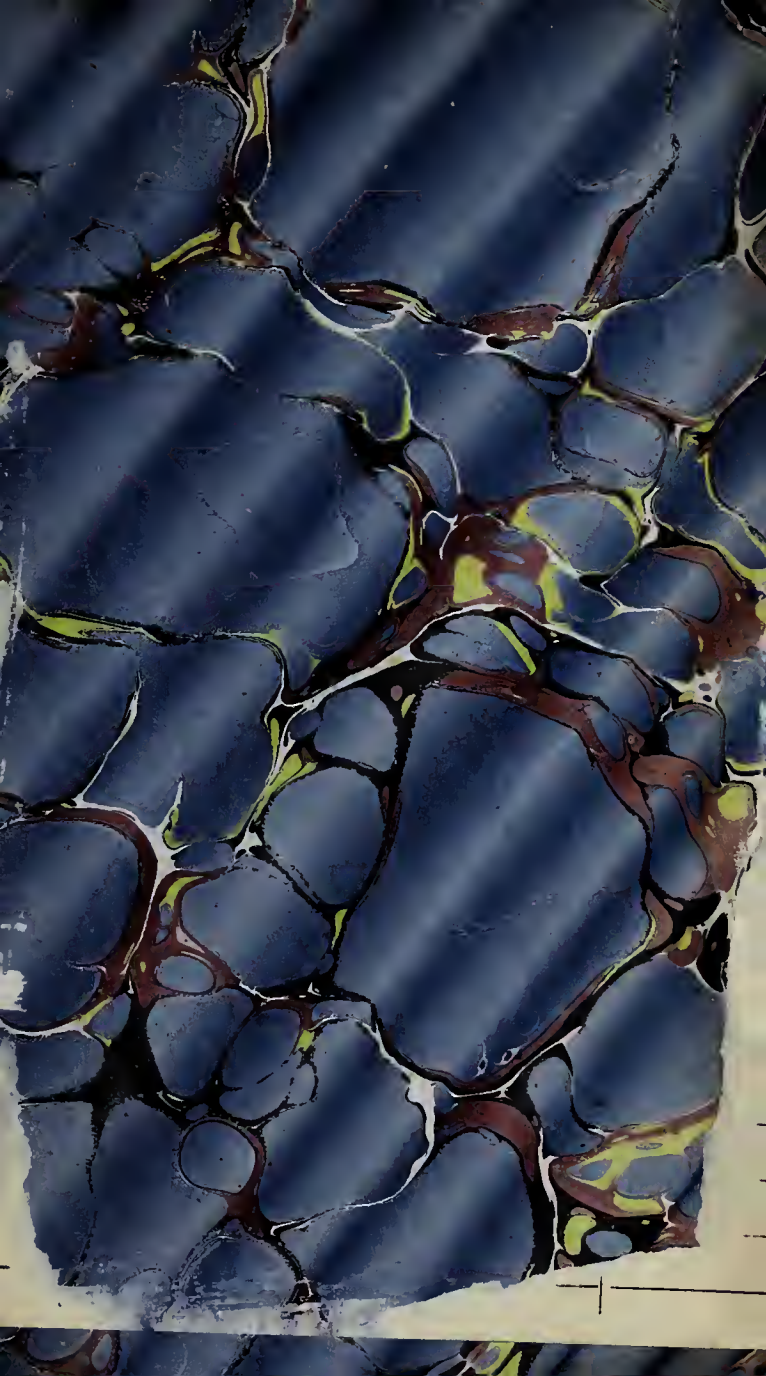
Such arguments in favour of lay patronage had much influence with the King; but the necessity of doing something which might please the Presbyterian party, induced his Scottish ministers, —not, it is said, with William's entire approbation,—to renew a law of Cromwell's time, which placed the nomination of a minister, with some slight restrictions, in the hands of the congregation. These, upon a vacancy, exercised a right of popular election, gratifying unquestionably to the pride of human nature, but tending to excite, in the case of disagreement, debates and strife, which were not always managed with the decency and moderation that the subject required.

King William equally failed in his attempt to secure toleration for such of the Episcopal clergy as were disposed to retain their livings under a Presbyterian supremacy. To have gained these

divines, would have greatly influenced all that part of Scotland which lies north of the Forth; but in affording them protection, William was desirous to be secured of their allegiance, which in general they conceived to be due to the exiled sovereign. Many of them had indeed adopted a convenient political creed, which permitted them to submit to William as King *de facto*, that is, as being actually in possession of the royal power, whilst they internally reserved and acknowledged the superior claims of James as King *de jure*, that is, who had the right to the crown, although he did not enjoy it.

It was William's interest to destroy this sophistical species of reasoning, by which, in truth, he was only recognised as a successful usurper, and obeyed for no other reason but because he had the power to enforce obedience. An oath, therefore, was framed, called the Assurance, which, being put to all persons holding offices of trust, was calculated to exclude those temporizers who had contrived to reconcile their immediate obedience to King William, with a reserved acknowledgment that James possessed the real title to the crown. The Assurance bore, in language studiously explicit, that King William was acknowledged, by the person taking the oath, not only as king in fact, but also as king in law and by just title. This oath made a barrier against most of the Episcopal preachers who had any tendency to Jacobitism; but there were some who regarded their own patrimonial advantages more than political questions

concerning the rights of monarchs, and in spite of the intolerance of the Presbyterian clergy (which, considering their previous sufferings, is not to be wondered at), about a hundred Episcopal divines took the oaths to the new Government, retained their livings, and were exempted from the jurisdiction of the courts of Presbytery.

END OF VOLUME TWENTY-FOURTH.

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